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# THE ADVERBIAL AND PREPOSITIONAL PRE- FIXES IN BLACKFOOT

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G. J. GEERS









# The Adverbial and Prepositional Prefixes in Blackfoot.

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## PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DEN GRAAD VAN

Doctor in de Nederlandsche Letterkunde

AAN DE RIJSUNIVERSITEIT TE LEIDEN,

OP GEZAG VAN DEN RECTOR-MAGNIFICUS

**Dr. G. KALFF,**

HOOGLEERAAR IN DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE,

VOOR DE FACULTEIT DER LETTEREN EN WIJSBEGEERTE  
TE VERDEDIGEN

op Donderdag 18 October 1917, des namiddags 2 uur

DOOR

**GERARDUS JOHANNES GEERS,**

GEBOREN TE DELFT.

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AAN MIJNE OUDERS.



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## PART I.

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### General remarks.

With reference to the title of this monograph I first of all wish to declare candidly, that it has been chosen from the standpoint of modern Indo-European languages, i. e. that I have in view those prefixes which agree most with our prepositions (praeverbia) and adverbs, and that for the moment I will not and dare not decide, whether these Indo-European grammatical categories represent as many logical categories in Blackfoot, in short, that I am not sure, whether these grammatical distinctions ought to be made in Blackfoot. Cf. F. Misteli, Typen des Sprachbaus, p. 16 \*).

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\*) „Im Siamesischen (sieh hinterind. Abschn. 3 fin.) nimmt die den präpositionalen Begriff enthaltende Verbalwurzel öfters die zweite Stelle ein: au mā „herbeibringen“, khin mā „heraufsteigen“, khau mā „hereinkommen“, aber: pai mā „gehen, kommen, besuchen“ (mā „kommen her, herbei“; khin „steigen, auf“; khau lat. „intrare“ und „intra“); pen khin „aufleben“, luk khin „sich erheben“; khau pai „hineingehen“; ein klarer präpositionaler oder adverbialer Begriff existiert auch hier nicht, weil man nicht genau weiss, welche Verbalwurzel die andere bestimmt und ob nicht vielmehr beide gleichwertige Bestandteile der Verbindung sind.”

I have not tried to register all the prefixes which might be called prepositional or adverbial, confining myself to only the most obvious of them, and leaving aside all more or less dubious matter, as also the prefixes of a markedly nominal and adjectival character.

In Blackfoot, in Algonkin in general, and in other North American languages the prefixes to be dealt with have already often drawn the attention of students of language. Still, an extensive and I hope a sound treatment of this matter in Blackfoot may not prove superfluous, may even deepen our insight into the structure of Algonkin. But I emphatically declare that I draw conclusions only as far as Blackfoot is concerned, and that I do not wish to follow the example of Jones<sup>\*)</sup> and Michelson<sup>\*\*)</sup> who both talk of „Algonquian” word-formation, etc., whereas they only deal with material from Fox, one of the dialects of the so-called Central-Algonkin. In this respect Kroeber<sup>\*\*\*)</sup>, whose publication on Arapaho dialects has been of great service to me, expresses himself much more guardedly, or perhaps I had better, say much more scientifically.

One passage, surely, from this article of Kroeber's I might have placed as a motto above my treatise scil.: „In short the undetermined and, in the writer's mind, fundamental problem of Arapaho, Fox, and Algonkin in general is, whether these languages say „he enters-looks”, „he enters-lookingly”, or „enteringly he looks.”

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<sup>\*)</sup> W. Jones, Some Principles of Algonquian Word-formation. *American Anthropologist*. N(ew) S(eries) VI (1906) p. 369 sqq.

<sup>\*\*)</sup> W. Jones and T. Michelson, Algonquian (Fox) in *Handbook of American Indian Languages* I.

<sup>\*\*\*)</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *Arapaho Dialects* (Un. of California Publications, etc. Vol. XII. No. 3, June 28, 1916).

And indeed this question is also for Blackfoot of the greatest importance and the solution of the problem which I think I have found, and which is suggested by the material handled in Part II. I will try to work out in the next pages.

The fact that Kroeber and the present author look upon this problem as the basis of the study of Algonkin, tallies with the inference already drawn by Powell: „Thus it is that the study of an Indian language is, to a large extent, the study of its verbs” (Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol. I, p. 11). By the side of these words of one of the earlier Americanists, which by their generality sound almost classical, I will, with special reference to Blackfoot, quote the words of one of the latest in this branch of science, namely Uhlenbeck (Some General Aspects of Blackfoot Morphology \*) p. 33): „When treating the nouns and other parts of speech, we have seen already how marked a predilection Blackfoot has for verbal constructions, and the knowledge of kindred languages has prepared us to meet also in this dialect with a complicate verbal system absorbing and incorporating all kinds of elements.” So Uhlenbeck calls Blackfoot holophrastic or polysynthetic (see: *Conjunctief-achtige Modi van het Blackfoot. Versl. Meded. der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. Afd. Lettk. 4e Reeks. Deel XII. Amsterdam 1913 p. 244.*)

Also Jones, Michelson and Kroeber use these terms when speaking about Algonquian dialects which they seem to take for representatives of Algonkin in general. As Blackfoot is therefore also included in their inferences

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\*) Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XIV. No. 5. Juni 1914.

we must of necessity examine their opinions on this point more closely. That Jones is thinking of holophrasis, becomes evident from these words: „Some of the dialects, like the Ojibwa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi, are disintegrating. The breaking up is not uniform throughout a dialect; it is faster in the regions where civilized influences predominate or play a controlling force, while the purer forms are maintained in the places where ideas of the old-time life and associations have a chance to live and survive” (Algonquian Word-formation. Amer. Anthr. N.S. VI. p. 370) and from p. 384 of the same article: „It would perhaps be more correct to use the term *sentence* instead of *word*; because the combined effect of all the elements in a combination is really that of a sentence or an approach to something more like a sentence.” Expressed in this general way no objection can be raised to the opinion of Jones, as concerns Blackfoot. But let us now consider what he thinks of the essential point of holophrasis or polysynthesis, in other words, what his idea of the composition of verbal forms really is. In his treatise on Fox (Handbook of American Indian Languages I) edited and in some places enlarged by Michelson, we read: „The principal process used for grammatical purposes is composition of stems. The stems are almost throughout of such character that they require intimate correlation with other stems, which is brought about by a complete coalescence of the group of component elements. These form a firm word-unit. Excepting a number of particles, the word unit in Algonquian is so clearly defined that there can be no doubt as to the limits of sentence and word.” (A modern linguist not forgetting that language itself is something living would probably have worded that first sentence somewhat

differently). Then we read (op. cit. p. 759): „Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes”, and a little farther: „The extended use of composition of verbal stems is particularly characteristic of the Algonquian languages. These stems follow one another in definite order. A certain differentiation of the ideas expressed by initial stems and by those following them, which may be designated as secondary stems, may be observed, although it seems difficult to define these groups of ideas with exactness.” And then we get, notwithstanding this „difficulty”, a somewhat vague philosophizing about these two groups, the latter of which is once more divided into two classes — to clear up the „difficulty”, probably!

Let us consider what, according to Jones and Michelson, is to be stated about these stems.

A. The so-called „initial stems”:

1<sup>0</sup>. they are capable at times of standing alone, with the function of adverbs.

2<sup>0</sup>. an initial stem can enter into composition with only a formative and express an independent statement, though not always with a sharply defined meaning.

3<sup>0</sup>. many „initial stems” occur in combination with each other, sometimes followed by so-called secondary stems, sometimes not.

N.B. Amongst the 123 „initial stems” which Michelson adds to the examples of Jones, only a few stand in „initial” position.

B. The „secondary stems”:

1<sup>0</sup>. they never occur alone.

2<sup>0</sup>. they are rarely found in conjunction with only a formative.

3°. they sometimes occupy the first place, even in a nominal form like *tcī'mānī canoe* (Handbook, p. 793).

4°. some of them are frequent in nominal forms (ib. p. 794), and look more like „incorporated” nouns than like verbal stems.

5°. according to Jones the so-called „secondary stems of the second order” show a general similarity with „initial stems” in the ideas they express.

6°. Michelson remarks (ibid. p. 802): „that at present there is no reason why the so-called second class of the second order should not be relegated to oblivion and the entire body merged with the stems of the first class of the second order. The proposed division of stems of the first class of the second order into two subdivisions strikes me as sound in principle; but too few secondary stems have been thus far pointed out to make the division feasible at present.”

I will not follow Michelson in his use of subjective, uncritical expressions and say that the whole conception of Jones and himself „strikes” me as forced and doctrinary. Without, for the present, pronouncing my private opinion on this head, which would in any case necessitate a thorough study of the Fox material, I leave it to the reader to weigh and compare the statements made sub A and B. Only I should like to draw the reader's attention to the fact that according to Michelson himself the stems of the second order practically form one whole; — that some noun-incorporations proper should be left out of consideration; — further, that amongst these „secondary stems” there are a number which in meaning strongly resemble initial stems; — that, moreover, initial and secondary stems have some common characteristics after all; cf. Kroeber's remark,

cited on p. 11. Only one more statement of Jones I should like to insert here (Algonquian Word-formation, p. 402): „The components seem to stand toward each other in the position of qualifiers, the sense of one qualifying the sense of another with an effect of directing the meaning toward a particular direction. But whatever be the influence at work, the result is a specialization of meaning, not only of the single member in the group but of all the members as they stand together with reference to one another. The stems seem charged with a latent meaning which becomes evident only when they appear in certain relations; out of those relations they stand like empty symbols. It is important to emphasize the fact that the order of stems in a group is psychologically fixed.” Put side by side with the remarks mentioned sub A 1 and 2, B 2, 3 and 4 it is not easy to see how Jones has come to the conclusion worded in the last sentence but one. As to the last sentence, we shall see later on that this „psychologically fixed place” does not necessarily lead to the making of such a psychologically lifeless classification into initial and secondary stems.

In his „Arapaho Dialects,” p. 90 sqq. Kroeber expatiates on the Arapaho verb and that of Algonkin in general, following Jones-Michelson. Kroeber starts from „the more conservative premises of prefix, stem, and suffix.” His main conclusions are as follows:

1<sup>o</sup>. „Word-forming prefixes, in turn, are often difficult to separate from independent words. Thus, *täs-i-* and *tcän-i-* mean „on” and „under” in verbs; but provided with the locative suffix *-i-hi'* they are adverbs which stand alone. Just so *xou-wu-hu'*, „straight”, and *xanou*, „immediately”, are employed, in the forms *xou-* and

xanou-, as prefixes to verbs. Verbs themselves, like tcäsis, „to begin”, and ʒa<sup>n</sup>ku-h, „to follow”, are used as prefixes to other verbs” (p. 90).

2<sup>o</sup>. „It is true that even when these elements are themselves verbs they are not used merely with the personal suffixes, but that second elements such as -hi-, -ni-, -ku-, -xa-, -h- are added to them. Now these added elements, which are frequent on indubitable verb stems, have all been listed as suffixes. But the possibility is by no means precluded that these „suffixes” whose significance usually is of the vaguest and most general, are themselves the real stem of the verb; in which case the preceding element, which is so much more specific in meaning as usually to carry the principal idea conveyed by the complete word, would after all be a prefix of the adverbial or prepositional type familiar from so many other languages” (p. 90).

3<sup>o</sup>. „That Arapaho, like Shoshonean and some other American languages, possesses true compound verbs — verbs functioning as such and composed of two verbs — is thus probable” (p. 91).

4<sup>o</sup>. „In short, it would seem that the Arapaho verb is frequently, perhaps normally, compounded of elements which themselves either are, or can become, verbal in force” (p. 91).

5<sup>o</sup>. „In fine, the Algonkin verb, so far as Arapaho is representative of it, can not in any off-hand manner be broken up into the usual elements of „prefix”, „stem”, and „suffix”; and any attempt to apply such a procedure leads quickly to contradictions and inconsistencies that reveal the arbitrariness of the method” (p. 92).

More politely than truthfully Kroeber continues: „The late Dr. William Jones reached exactly the same con-



clusion as regards the Fox dialect" (p. 92). For Jones, it is true, says: „Most of the elements that enter into composition are so nearly of the same order, that we can not properly speak of prefixes or suffixes" (Handbook p. 759), but as we have seen, instead of those old categories he uses the new names „initial stems", „secondary stems of the first order", „secondary stems of the second order", and „secondary co-ordinative stems", to which he wishes to give a fixed place in the word-compound, which is the very characteristic of prefixes and suffixes.

Still greater is Kroeber's deviation from the truth when he says: „That the principles of Algonkin verb formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European Dr. Jones has made very clear; and a realization of this fact is the first requisite to a true understanding of Algonkin structure" (p. 92). This mistake may perhaps be due to Kroeber's warm sympathy with and admiration of Jones, whose true merits are, however, great enough to enable him to dispense with that erroneously ascribed to him here. Uhlenbeck (*Internationales Archiv f. Ethnographie*, Bnd. XXIV 1916, p. 37), when reviewing this pamphlet of Kroeber's, has already referred to this passage and has made the following remarks on this head:

1°. „What do we know, after all, about Indo-European verb-structure? . . . . As I take it, the Indo-European verb-formation is just as enigmatic as the Algonquian verb-structure."

2°. „that the students in that field [scil. of American Indian linguistics] have some more or less erroneous ideas about Indo-European, and that for that reason they had better leave the Old World languages alone, when

discussing the fundamental traits of the aboriginal languages of America".

3°. „we can expect more light to be thrown on Indo-European or Semitic by a thorough study of phenomena of relatively „primitive" languages than vice-versa".

This is surely sufficient to put Kroeber's implicitly pronounced assertion on Indo-European simply aside, but we might even make a positive attack on his contention that „the principles of Algonkin verb-formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European" by pointing to such works as: P. Persson, *Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation* 1891 and P. Persson, *Indogermanische Wortforschungen* 1912. See, moreover, some articles and notes of R. M. Meyer (*Indogermanische Forschungen* XII, p. 46), K. Brugmann (*I. F.* XII, p. 150), Johansson (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur* XV, p. 227 and *Zeitschrift f. Deutsche Philologie* 31, p. 296) and others, all of which point to the fact that there are undoubtedly Indogermanists who admit the possibility of polysynthetic verbal structure or at least of the composition of verbal stems in Indo-European and are fain to show some traces of this phenomenon.

In conclusion Kroeber contends: „there seem to be only three possible descriptions of the Algonkin verb that have a usable meaning" (p. 93) scil.:

„The *first* interpretation is that of the verb as the result of a process of composition similar to that of noun composition, but extended in Algonkin also to verbs. This essentially is the conclusion of Dr. Jones; and it is also the inference of the present writer. But it cannot be too clearly recognized that even if this explanation is in substance the correct one we do not

yet really know anything as to the rules and conditions and limitations of this verb-compounding.

The *second* interpretation of the Algonkin verb is that of a stem followed by a greater or less number of suffixes. In this case the „initial” stem of Dr. Jones would be the only true stem, his „secondary stems” the suffixes. In support of this explanation is the fact that the initial elements of verbs come nearest to having the power of forming words by themselves, in both Arapaho and Fox; and the statement of Dr. Jones (Am. Anthr. N. S. VI, p. 401) that on the whole initial stems more definitely perform the function of verbs. If this view is correct, the type of Arapaho verb-building would be somewhat analogous to that of Eskimo.

The *third* possible interpretation is also that of a verb stem with affixes, the word-forming ones, however, being chiefly or wholly prefixes, the stem coming last, except for grammatical endings. In favour of this last view is the fact that practically all the „secondary stems of the second order” given by Dr. Jones are naturally translated by words which in most other languages are verbs, whereas substantially all his cited „initial stems” and „secondary stems of the first order” can actually be rendered, without much distortion as adverbs, nouns, auxiliary verbs, or modal particles. It is not certain how far Dr. Jones’s examples of each class are fully representative of that class, his list obviously aiming at well translated instances rather than at fullness; but it is clear that his own presentation of evidence leaves the interpretation of the „secondary stems of the second order” as being true verb stems defined by prefixes, in a position where it cannot be summarily dismissed.”

In special reference to Dr. Jones's sketch of Fox revised and enlarged by Dr. Michelson for the „Handbook”, Kroeber gives his view on the Fox verb. He says (p. 95): „The secondary stems of the first order are clearly not the principal stems of the verb-complexes. The „initial stems” may be verbs. If they are, the „secondary stems of the second order” are either suffixes or other verbs compounded with the „initial stems”. That they are suffixes does not seem likely from the character of the examples given. If their number is substantially limited to those quoted, their suffix nature might be conceived of; but if their number is indefinitely large, they cannot well be anything but true verb stems. The evidence of quantity, then, becomes as decisive on this point as that of quality; and this evidence must be awaited with interest from Dr. Michelson or some other authority competent to carry on Dr. Jones's analysis. Meanwhile the strong probability is that if the „initial stems” are truly verbal in nature, the normal Fox verb is a compound binary verb. [*Why „binary”?* or, *in other words, what has become of the poor „secondary stems of the first order”?*] If, on the other hand, the „initial stems” are essentially adverbial, prepositional, or modal in quality, they deserve only to be ranked as prefixes, even if some of them may have reached this condition by the way of once having been subsidiary verbs; and in that case Fox, and with it no doubt Algonkin in general, possesses verbs that are built up around a kernel of a normal verbal stem or root, as in most languages, and these stems or roots are the „secondary stems of the second order”.

In my opinion we have now given sufficient space to Kroeber which, to be sure, he fully deserves on ac-

count of his careful and critical way of reasoning, and we now know his view. So we had better summarize at once what we have to find fault with in his conclusions and what inferences may be drawn on this head by an investigation of the Blackfoot material.

On p. 3 we already quoted Uhlenbeck when he deals with the „marked predilection of Blackfoot for verbal constructions”. The words, e. g., which have an independent form in - u a are verbal: they have the function of a 3 prs. sg. (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects*. p. 9 and 16); nomina loci with prefixed it- and ending in - o p i, and nomina instrumenti with prefix i x t- and ending in - o p i are 1 prs. plur. inclusive; many personal names are verbal forms e. g.: *suyéniki Kills-in-water* etc. sub sui - Part II; an adjective used attributively is generally an inseparable verbal prefix (loc. cit. p. 18); used predicatively it is an intransitive verb. The majority of pronouns are often verbalized; the independent cardinals (animate and inanimate) occur with verbal endings just like different other series of numerals (e. g. to count days and nights, or one's age, the ordinalia). Pure verbal forms (and with these I mean those forms which, looked upon from the point of view of modern English, we should call verbal) possess, moreover, an almost unlimited capacity to absorb all sorts of elements. Local and instrumental case-suffixes and postpositions, e. g., do not exist in Blackfoot, but the language incorporates local and instrumental prefixes into the verb. Also noun-incorporation plays a rather important part (loc. cit. p. 58—59). With special regard to the compositional power of the Blackfoot verb, we may, starting like Kroeber from „the more conservative premises of prefix, stem, and suffix”, state the following:

1<sup>0</sup>. Prefixes have sometimes arisen because a verbal root was very often used as the first part of a compound (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects*, p. 59, who also mentions some suffixes of similar origin). See in Part II e.g.: *amat-*, *mat-*, *omat-*, *aumatap-*, *kot(s)-*, *askak-*, *apam-*, *tap-*, *uxs-*, etc. Also compare the results of Kroeber, p. 8 sub 2.

2<sup>0</sup>. Many prefixes also occur as independent adverbs, although they have always a suffix *-oxts(i)*, *-axts(i)*, *-ists(i)*, in this function, e.g.: *akimóxts*, *akóxts*, *amítoxts*, *anáukoxts*, *apámoxts*, *apxtóxtsik'* *spóxts*, *námists*, *ksistóxtsi*, etc. (cf. the similar results of Kroeber, p. 7 sub 1).

3<sup>0</sup>. Many prefixes may acquire verbal force (cf. p. 8 sub 4, where Kroeber draws the same conclusion); examples are to be found Part II *passim*.

4<sup>0</sup>. The elements referred to sub 3<sup>0</sup> may be turned into verbal forms by means of a verbal ending, occasionally preceded by a verbalizing suffix or incorporated noun.

5<sup>0</sup>. Probably this verbalizing suffix does not even deserve that name and may *also* turn out to be a compositional element with a very vague general meaning. Cf. the notes of Kroeber on suffixes (loc. cit. p. 105—106): „What at first appears to be the stem preceding this suffix is in most cases an element which itself is normally a prefix. Whether the „prefix” *tcäbi-* or the „suffix” *-xa* is the true verbal „stem” remains to be determined as in so many other cases”.

As such apparent suffixes seem, e.g., to occur *-ap(i)-*, *ixk-(-oxk-)*, *-ixp-(-oxp-)*, *-ixt-(-oxt-)*, though they also occur as so-called prefixes, sometimes even as independent verbs, e.g.: *ixtó*; see Part II *ap-*, *ixk-*, *ixp-*, *ixt-*.

6°. At first sight the last element to which the verbal ending is joined, looks very much like the verbal stem proper; but that they are by no means always original verbs and that, indeed, the verbal ending as such turns the whole combination into a verbal form is proved by forms like:

iksáχkuspiniu *she had earth on her cheeks* nbt. 73, 16 (cf. ksáχkum *earth*; motstšípina *check*; -iu is verbal ending).

ki mátopiu *and he had also an arrow* nbt. 46, 1 (*mat-again, also*; cf. ápssi *arrow*).

iiksímiko *the snow was deep* nbt. 120, 8 (ik(s)- *very*; imi- *deep*; kóni, rarely used for kóniskuyi *snow*).

aiksistsínikinau *then she had done skimming* (lit.: *then she had completed the legbones-soup*) nbt. 11, 16 (ai- see Part II; ksist- *done*, Part II; nitsínikinàni *my soup of the legbones*).

7°. It surely follows from the Blackfoot material in Part II, that in every form every element has its „psychologically fixed place”, but this place may be quite different in another combination and depends entirely on the order in which the elements of thought rise before the speaker's mind, owing to their greater or lesser importance or to the association of ideas. Thus the element, which in one case heads the compound and might be called a prefix, has in another combination changed places with what in the first case might have been called stem or even suffix.

8°. Besides, owing to their vagueness, some elements may occur more than once in one complex e. g.: ai-, it(s)-, ixt-.

As we see (especially sub 1°, 2°, 3°, 5°) there is indeed a remarkably great similarity between the facts in Ara-

paho and Blackfoot and also between Fox and Blackfoot, as became evident from the careful examination by Kroeber and ourselves of Dr. Jones's results. And if the present author draws a conclusion from these facts, which does somewhat differ from that of Jones and Kroeber, this is mainly due to some of the other characteristics, noted about Blackfoot verb-structure (sub 6<sup>o</sup>, 7<sup>o</sup>, 8<sup>o</sup>). For on account of these, there can be no question in Blackfoot of the even for Fox very doctrinary stem-classification of Jones, the weak points of which are brought forward by the characteristics noted on p. 5-6.

Nor should I like to say with Kroeber (see above p. 12) that „the verbs are built up around a kernel of a normal verbal stem or root”, nor speak of „compound *binary* verbs”. And for this very reason I cannot agree with Kroeber when he says about holophrasis and polysynthesis: „these terms will essentially be only a convenient designation for the linguistic process which allows two verbs to consolidate into a single one.” The less because we may get a quite different conception of holophrasis, as it is found in Blackfoot and perhaps in Algonkin in general, if we consider what Jespersen (A Modern English Grammar II Syntax I. p. 6) says on the verb in modern English, scil. that it is especially sentence-building. As we stated already, any word or group of words may be a verb in such languages; or, what is equally true, any word there can be sentence-building. So, we can not, as a rule, find a kernel (the verb) and other parts, but the whole sentence is a verb, cf. Jones's statement quoted on p. 4. E. g.: *aukanáiksistsipuyìsi* *when they all stood in a circle* nbt. 73, 13; *itápaisauàkstsitsikiòp* *then we began*



to put on other moccasins nbt. 29, 2; áitamauksoyiau they ate the raw entrails, being happy nbt. 166, 1; támanistsipitotsauxkyapiksuaie then he suddenly threw up his head out of the water right in front nbt. 79, 33. But we must not lose sight of the fact that, supposing the present view, nowadays taken by grammarians of modern European languages, — starting from the sentence as being a unit, and the expression of one thought or feeling — to be the right one, the difference with Blackfoot c. s. is not great. It is really only a gradual difference, in so far that the unit of sentence in such „primitive” languages as the Algonquian is much stronger (in consequence of which, e. g., incorporated nouns are frequently as it were only represented by an index), and on the other hand it is more capricious and unsystematical and consequently more difficult, because the order of words, which in a language such as modern English has even made inflexion of forms superfluous, is much less fixed. Interesting on this point is also the following remark of Jespersen: „Very often such a verb form [in the old Arian (Indogermanic) languages, as well as in some languages belonging to other groups] was sufficient in itself to express a whole composite thought; what could not be incorporated into the verb form, stood more or less isolated, outside the sentence proper, in what may be called *extraposition*. In course of time, the tendenz has been to strip the verbal idea or root idea of these accessory notions; but though in a form like *must* there are no longer any indications of person, number, tense, or mood, most other verb forms still retain some or all of these accessory ideas...” (O. Jespersen. op. c. 1. 44). Another student of Indo-European linguistics, therefore, who accepts for the ancient Indo-

European, as well as for some other languages a holophrasis differing somewhat from that meant by Kroeber. The more reason for me, not to consider myself bound down to the three interpretations of the Algonkin verb proposed by Kroeber, although he remarks in a somewhat prophetic tone: „until the science of language is revolutionized by entirely new methods of thinking about it, there seem to be only three possible descriptions of the Algonkin verb that have a usable meaning” (see above, p. 10). And I will make bold to propose a fourth interpretation which I consider documented and explained in the material dealt with in Part II:

„The Blackfoot verb and, — seeing the apparent agreement with the facts given by Jones and Kroeber — the Algonkin verb in general, is a compound of various elements (verbal, adverbial, nominal, etc.) characterized as a verbal form by means of a verbal ending”.

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## PART II.

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### List of prefixes.

#### ai-, au-.

Monophthongizations of a i- (scil. a-,  $\alpha$ -) are frequent immediately before -s- and perhaps also before -a- (cf. s a i-) e. g.:

ixtázstuyìmiu (*the people*) wintered with nbt. 8, 11.

áaxkaiìn *he was on his way home* nbt. 77, 9.

áaxkyapipiksiu (*the war-party*) ran home nbt. 18, 2.

In many other cases we have to do with a prothetic i- and not with a rest of a i- (as it seemed a moment to the present author) e. g.:

iskaxkósii *they stretched their hands back* (i. e. *they went back to help*) nbt. 24, 9.

isksáxkuspiniù *she had earth on her cheek* nbt. 73, 16.

istúisòiau *it was winter, when they went on the raid* nbt. 23, 13.

iskunátaxkumìks *those that shot hard* nbt. 12, 14.

isikátoiiksistsikùyi *Monday* nbt. 231, 1.

ísikotuyìks *Black-tails* nbt. 7, 20.

As far as I can see, a i-, a u- is the only prefix that is also used as an infix in the strict sense of the word, e. g.:

kaiĩxtsipiniki *Spotted-kills* (woman's name).

paióta *Fly(ing)* (woman's name).

káiiskstakipxpàukau *he had had a beaver-dream* nbt. 84, 10.

ámaie paiĩskiua *over there is somebody corralling* nbt. 120, 19.

kaiĩstoχsĩnai *he stuck himself* nbt. 21, 21 (cf. *ibidem*: ixtsikstakipxpàukau *he stuck himself with*).

paiĩskiua (*the people*) *was corralling* obt. 18, 1.

ánnoχk káiokùixk *this night* obt. 13, 11.

káikitotoχpaipiĩnai maiáii *she just jumped to her robe* nbt. 138, 17.

káukoχtòkiaiks *they had only their ears left* nbt. 18, 1.

áikaukoχtχskunàkiauie *he just shot with it* nbt. 183, 12.

The prefix ai-, au- (just like it-) may be found more than once in the same form; e. g.:

áitsauaipχskaii otoχkémaiks *his wives were the only ones that did not dance* nbt. 73, 1.

ki áiaianikapimatsiuaie *and he had him for a single man with him* nbt. 84, 8.

itauáuakoàu *we would chase* nbt. 1, 22.

aiaiaikapotsiu *then he began to pack his meat (on a horse)* nbt. 2, 8.

Syntactical.

1<sup>o</sup>. ai-, au- has a durative force (in contrast to it- that expresses perfectivity as well as „being defined as to place or time or circumstances”). So ai-, au- is frequent in forms of the temporal conjunctive, and of the indicative used as such, to express the unlimited space of time, out of which one special moment is pointed at by a form with it-.

Examples:

áipχskàii *they were dancing* nbt. 72, 1.

autúsi *in spring (when it is spring)* nbt. 76, 23.

In other words we can say that with ai-, au- the situation of things is summarized, and that with it- forms the narrative proceeds. E. g.:

áipixtsiu *she was far away* nbt. 125, 26.

áupokaxkaiimuaie *she went home with her* nbt. 124, 12.

áukznaiokaiau; omá kipitákeu itsipúau *all of them slept; that old woman got up* nbt. 128, 17.

2°. ai-, au- is also iterative and then it may be rendered by the English verb „to use”. E. g.:

kaiístoxsinai *he stuck himself (scil. the father of each married man who was killed)* nbt. 21, 21.

auánit *say every time* obt. 2, 2.

aipžskasi... áuaksipuyiau *when they danced... they stood in a circle* nbt. 72, 4.

itauákimau *then (the people) chased the buffalo* nbt. 3, 6.

áuauaxkisixk *they were shaking their heads (= dancing)* nbt. 85, 4.

žnni nitáinausinaí *that way he used to dress* nbt. 73, 34.

áístxmsatapiksixp ótokoàuaists *then they would throw out their kidneys* nbt. 1, 29.

asótsimàni itaisínàkiauaists *they made marks on the parfleches (N.B. it- is local)* nbt. 2, 19.

itauámiaupiu = *(the people) began to get on their horses* nbt. 3, 6.

**aini-** cf. sub in- *below; down.*

**aip(i)stsik-** *a little; scarcely;* cf. sub ipistsik-.

**aist(s)-, ast(s)-** (cf. ai-, sai-) *close, near to.*

1<sup>o</sup>. frequent as independent verbal stem, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

aistsísi *when they are close by* nbt. 77, 3.

áikaistsiu (*the time*) *is getting very near* nbt. 85, 24.

aistsísi *when it is close to the time (that...)* nbt. 77, 6.

itstsíxki áistòyi *if some one comes* nbt. 175, 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. combined with the verbal stem -aɣk-, -oɣk-, „to go, to come”. E. g.:

áistoɣkima moyists *he got near the lodges* nbt. 81, 5.

máɣkaistoɣkòyis *that he might get closer to him* nbt. 80, 6.

otáistoɣkokoaiauaie *when she came near them* nbt. 110, 6.

otsitsiikaistokokoaiauaie *she was very close to them* nbt. 110, 12 \*).

áistoɣkimiau omím otápimanoài *they came near their lodge* nbt. 24, 7.

áistoɣkoyù omí únnasini *she got near the men* nbt. 168, 28.

áistǎɣkixk *when we were near to* nbt. 7, 2.

áistoɣkìm *he got near it* nbt. 79, 32.

akomátaistoɣkixp *we shall get close there* nbt. 26, 27.

3<sup>o</sup>. combined with various prefixes:

áɣkaistsaipiskoɣtoaiiks *let us charge on them close (i. e. when they are close by)* nbt. 17, 7.

mátsitoɣkǎnauaistomáɣkàii *they all ran again to him* nbt. 208, 9.

4<sup>o</sup>. aistsíkai-Pekàniua *the Peigan tribe of not long ago (lit.: near-old)* nbt. 203, 9.

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\*) -aistok- stands for -aistoɣk. Examples of such inconstant aspiration are numerous.

1<sup>o</sup>. **ak(s)-** *nearly, about to, soon*; cf. *autəm-ak-* *almost, about to*.

1<sup>o</sup>. seldom as independent verbal stem:

*nitáiak* *I shall*; cf. *nitoχkót* *I can*.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix with the meaning *nearly, soon*:

*áksikoko* *it was nearly night* obt. 58, 1.

*itáksinetsiu* *he was nearly drowned* obt. 64, 20.

*áksimiu* *he was about to drink* obt. 64, 10.

*itákotoyiuai* *he was nearly taking it* nbt. 158, 22.

*tautzmákotoàu* *I am nearly taking it* nbt. 158, 24.

*ákanetòyiau* *they were going to separate* nbt. 2, 30.

*ákapinàko* *towards morning* nbt. 27, 8.

3<sup>o</sup>. nearly as a tense-prefix of the future:

*ákamistutsòp* *we shall move up* nbt. 1, 15.

*ákopakìop* *we shall move* nbt. 1, 18.

*ákitakàuop* *we shall make a circle (to chase the buffalo)* nbt. 3, 1.

*nitáksipzsk* *I shall dance* nbt. 73, 8.

*mátakoχtotakixp* *I will not take from them* nbt. 78, 2.

*nitáksam* *I shall hunt* obt. 7, 9.

*kitákàuatòχpinan* *we shall eat you* obt. 8, 26.

4<sup>o</sup>. The next future seems to be expressed by the combination *ai-ak-*; e. g.:

*annóχk áiàksikòkuixk* *now this coming night* nbt. 119, 6.

*áiàksistuyiu* *it will be cold* obt. 13, 16.

*ánnoχkaie nitúkska aiáksipzskàu* *now it is (only) one (night more) they will dance* obt. 21, 30.

*kitaiákoχkot* *I shall give it to you* obt. 59, 8.

5<sup>o</sup>. In connection with the adverbial meaning of *ak(s)-* *about to, almost*, the sense of a future in

the past is rather intelligible. These forms often have nearly the same value as those with iterative ai- (cf. ai- sub 2<sup>0</sup>):

ákanistsiuaie *he would tell her* nbt. 1, 33.

otsitákaxkaiixp *when he was to go home* nbt. 77, 26.

áutòsaie ákitanistsiuaie *when she came back, he would say to her* nbt. 2, 1.

átàkskunakìnai *he was going to shoot again* obt. 30, 28.

ákstzmzsikomoauaie *it would be broken for him* nbt. 2, 3.

ákitomonimaie *he would roll (the marrow) in (the manifold)* nbt. 2, 5.

ákitaipxkstsimaie *he would burst it by chewing it* nbt. 2, 6.

akáútsim *they would take it* nbt. 3, 9.

áiszmoyixk atáksamìixk *after a long while he was going to hunt* obt. 23, 6.

N.B. omí einíua túkskzmi áukâx̣tsènikiop *we shall kill one of the buffalo* nbt. 165, 32.

2<sup>0</sup>. ak(s)- *round*. For different forms see: uχsok-, uχsoχk-.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verbal stem, only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

támitapxksinìinai *then it circled around to* nbt. 156, 25.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a prefix in nominal forms:

akókatsists *the circle-camp* nbt. 18, 12.

Perhaps also in: amói akaxkó itóto *he came to a round hill* nbt. 198, 1, although this form may be regarded as verbal like:

itakítsoaskuyiu *the Round-forest* nbt. 14, 25.

3<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix:



ákakàuhop *we shall go in a circle after buffalo* nbt. 90, 23.

aitakópiiau *they sat in a circle* nbt. 45, 22.

áuaksipuyiau *they stood in a circle* nbt. 72, 4.

itauáksipuyimiauie *they were all standing around them* nbt. 41, 11.

N.B. aukanáksistsipuyisi *when they all stood in a circle* nbt. 73, 13. It is doubtful whether „in a circle” is expressed here by *ak-* (c. q. to be found in *auk-*) or by *-ksist-* (cf. 1<sup>o</sup>. *ksist-* sub 3<sup>o</sup>).

**ak(ai)-, ak(an)-, (i)kai-**; cf. *ik-*.

These prefixes are to be divided in two rather different semantic groups with the meanings *much, many* and *already*. A similar expansion of use and sense is to be noted by the prefix *amai-* (*omai-, umai-, imai-*) which besides replaces *akai-* *already* after a negative, e. g. *sauumai-, matomai-*; cf. *amai-* and Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 49. Especially for this reason I did not hesitate to identify *akai-* *much* with *akai-* *old, already*.

So we have the following meanings:

1<sup>o</sup>. *many, much, plenty of*.

a) as an element of nominal forms or as an indefinite pronoun, animate and inanimate (when used predicatively this is verbalized):

akáitapisko *many people together* (= town).

akáitapì *many people* nbt. 121, 1.

íkakauoyi auáuaxsists *there is plenty of food* nbt. 76, 19.

skí'miks akaiími *many mares* nbt. 224, 14.

mátakauòà istuyísts *it was not many years* nbt. 224, 16.

Kyáiakàiimmi *Many-bears* (name of a Blood-Indian man).

akaiímmixki *they were many* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 11.

itakáimi nótàsinànìks *then were many our horses* nbt. 224, 17.

akauóyi *many (were)* nbt. 224, 38.

b) as an independent adverb ending in -oxts; sometimes used in a verbal form:

akóxtsi apátoχsoχtsi *very far north* obt. 5, 1.

aká'χtsiaie otoká'ni *far down was her hair* nbt. 137, 6.

c) as a prefix of verbal forms:

itakáutotau *he made plenty of fire (a big fire)* nbt. 176, 8.

nimátaikautsipa *I do not often swim*.

2<sup>o</sup>. *old, already*. On account of the latter meaning we might call akai- a prefix of the perfect tense („ein perfektisches Praefix", as German philologists would say), just like ksist- (N.B. they are often found together).

a) with substantives *former, ancient*:

ákai-Pekàniua *the ancient Peigan tribe* obt. 5, 1; nbt. 1, 1; nbt. 51, 6.

ákai-tapiua *the ancient people* obt. 57, 1.

b) as a verbal prefix *already*:

ákauksikìnakìminai *she had already turned into bones* obt. 25, 12.

ákaitautsiksistopìn (*the people*) *was already sitting* nbt. 199, 11.

nikáumotsaiu *I have killed (all those)* obt. 48, 1.

kikátoχkoχkemi *you have got another wife* obt. 38, 19.

ákatoχkoχkemìnai *he has got another wife* obt. 38, 16.

ákainim omík apáuk *he had seen there a flint-knife* obt. 47, 18.

kikáuχkoi *you have got something to eat* obt. 37, 3.

íkaumatapakìmiu *she was already hammering* nbt. 11, 21.

nikáinitau *I have killed him* obt. 46, 25.

ákaumitauásiu *he had turned into a dog* obt. 11, 6.

ákaitaiksistsauyiau *they had already done eating* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

ákáinauásiu *he has become a chief* obt. 53, 28.

ákainim *he had seen it* obt. 46, 13.

ákaiokau *he has fallen asleep* obt. 22, 16.

ákainii *they were dead already* obt. 46, 9.

okáinokai *he was already seen by him* obt. 20, 8.

nikáinitànan *we have killed her* obt. 28, 16.

kikáipx̣tsàn *you have said wrong* obt. 54, 27.

áikaistapaipyàpsapinai *he kept looking about farther away* nbt. 143, 9.

ákaiṣmomatò *it is already a long time that she started* obt. 39, 23.

ákaiṣmo *it is already a long time* obt. 26, 22.

kaiiksípixtsiau *they went already very far off* nbt. 130, 1.

mí'nists ákaitsii *the berries are ripe already* nbt. 4, 13.

kikáisksinok *he already knows you* nbt. 120, 20.

íkaiistsitapu *he was going away already* nbt. 73, 24.

ákauomax̣ksìmiau *they had already got big* obt. 25, 13.

c) From the meaning mentioned sub *b* may be also derived the use of this prefix with the value of *still* which is found to be in some cases the best suitable translation for the combination *ok-anist-* (cf. *manist-* sub 8<sup>o</sup>). The single variant *ok-* occurs: *okáinokai he was already seen by him* obt. 20, 8.

Here follow the places where *okanist-* has been met with:

okánistaiixtsìxpiaiks *they were still there* obt. 64, 14.

okánistsitaixtsixp *they were still there* nbt. 198, 17.

ki okánistaia $\chi$ kìtspiaie *and it was still smoking* obt. 19, 15.

okánistauamotsìixpi *they still invite each other* nbt. 54, 8.

okánistaixtsixpi *they (inan.) are still there* nbt. 54, 19.

okánistaixtsìxp (*his lodge*) *was still there* nbt. 153, 26.

d) Remarkable is a k a i - with imperatives:

ákaitòpik *sit down!*

ánnui ákaitaupit *sit there for a moment!* obt. 20, 12.

If we may recognize in these forms the perfectic a k a i -, we may compare constructions like Dutch *nu flink doorgeloopen! nu den lofzang aangeheven!*

(a)kap- *often*; from a k - (a k a i -) + a p - (cf. a p -).

Compare for similar formation and meaning a m a p -.

The form i k a p - is also noted:

mátaksikâpo $\chi$ tskùnakiòpa *we will not often shoot with it* nbt. 183, 5.

Examples: áikapisimianistutsimaie *he does it often secretly.*

áikapisimiitapaumixkau *he is often fishing alone secretly.*

nitsikákapanistutsixp *I often do it.*

(a)kim- ikim- *at (to) the upper end of the lodge.*

The independent adverbial form is often met with:

akimó $\chi$ ts stámitakaupiu *at the upper end he sat down* obt. 45, 1.

akimó $\chi$ ts *at the upper end* nbt. 22, 14.

akimó $\chi$ tsim *in the upper part of the lodge* nbt. 156, 32.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verbal stem only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

*itsikímau* *he went to the upper part of the lodge* nbt. 124, 4.

*támikimò* *he went to the upper end of the lodge* nbt. 136, 15.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a prefix:

*nánauaikimàuoysinai* *he finally went to the upper part of the lodge* nbt. 125, 3.

*etsekímaixtsenea* *otséuanoàie* *their gambling-wheel was lying in the west-end of the lodge.* de J. de J. bt. 43, 23. About this place Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes \*) p. 27 says: „= *itsikímaixtsinai*(‘a). The prefix *kim-* refers to the upper end of the lodge”. Indeed the interpretation of de J. de J. is supported by no other place.

**aχk-** is untranslatable.

Etymologically a **χk-** may be connected with the relative ending -a **χk** (s), cf. sub II (-pi).

Syntactically a **χk-** is in the first place the characteristic of the final conjunctive. Moreover it is not only prefixed to a conjunctive, but also to indicative forms, and forms of the so-called false final conjunctive (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 17). Another false conjunctivus finalis is found with intransitive verbal stems in -a-; from these stems abstracta are formed with the suffix -ni and to these a **χk-**, n a **χk-**, etc. is prefixed (ibid. p. 18). The

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\*) C. C. Uhlenbeck. Philological Notes to Dr. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong's Blackfoot Texts. *Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde. N.R. Dl. XVI. No. 1. Amsterdam, Juni 1915.*

a  $\chi k$ - forms are made negative by means of *stai-*, *stau-*, perhaps a phonetical secondary variant of *sai-*, *sau-* in the proximity of the *k*.

In a polysynthetic language like Blackfoot, where it is so difficult to distinguish between the syntactic and the morphologic, and where e.g. a firmly maintained characterization of modes and tenses hardly could be pointed out, it will prove best to consider a  $\chi k$ -morphologically. a  $\chi k$ - stands in 3 morphologically different constructions and in each of them it may perform various syntactic functions.

I. a  $\chi k$  - c. indicativo.

a) purely relative (to translate by our adjective clauses):  
*ánnik kokúyik naχksók when I sleep during the nights* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 6.

*ómiaie kínnuna aχkauánistsiu there is the one, our father told us about* obt. 28, 22.

b) with final, sometimes consecutive meaning:

*áχkoχtsitokopstai (give them) that she might make soup with them* obt. 38, 22.

*aχkítsoyiu (tell him) that he may eat* obt. 32, 23.

*púχsapuk, kitoχkémauauiks kaχkitsáipiauaui come here, that you take your wives out* obt. 43, 28.

*aχkítóatai (make haste) that we may eat it* obt. 37, 9.  
*kaχkótomoki (there will be none) that will take (this backfat) from you* obt. 42, 16.

*áχkitsipim (tell her) that she should enter* obt. 18, 23.

N. B. The verbal abstracta in *-ani* may also find here a place:

*káχkstatakàatskàni (I told you) that you should never have a partner* obt. 53, 17.

*maχkâχkúitskàni (he was always thinking) that he might have a fight* obt. 4, n<sup>o</sup>. 19.

kéka, náχkipitapaiakàni *wait a moment, that I may have a chance to confess.*

c) with potential meaning:

káχkstəmoχtòki *they might hear you* obt. 44, 15.

áχkautəməkotapòtsiu *he might soon be here with the pieces of the carcase* obt. 27, 3.

káχksistskòkixpinan (*I am afraid*) *that you might make us dirty* obt. 33, 19.

sàksíst káχksistskòki *go out, you might make us dirty* obt. 56, 21.

naχksínauayísitoki *he might hit me* obt. 40, 8.

káχkoχtòki *they might hear you* obt. 41, 32.

aχkítsitokìokìmoki (*if it is a long time*) *he may get angry with us* obt. 60, 11.

d) to indicate a great probability, a modestly expressed certainty (Eng. auxiliary, „must”).

máχkaukoχtsok ũsi *it must have been given to him by his son-in-law* obt. 37, 4.

aχkáumainitàyii *they must be crazy* obt. 46, 11.

áχksistsinikatakanistaistutoyìuatsiksaie *it must be a long time, that he has treated him that way* obt. 40, 12.

e) as imperative (adhortative), cf. above sub c.

áχsikamàuopi *let us walk fast* obt. 62, 13.

kaχkitsápitsim *you had better fill your pipe* obt. 45, 14.

káχkotaxkòspuaiixk (*he would say:*) *you are wanted to stretch your hands out* obt. 35, 10.

kaχkitápaiksima *you might go and touch!* obt. 42, 3.

àχkaχkápiiaiiks *let us take them home* obt. 53, 24.

áχksikakòtoaii ki áχkitaxkaio *let us only take (the backfat) and let us go home* obt. 44, 24.

àχkstaismoyi *let it not be a long time* obt. 60, 8.

The same may also be expressed by forms without a  $\chi k$  -, but in the conjunctive:

iiksópoχsisà *let it blow harder* nbt. 176, 25.

f) some particular cases:

kenník kitsím áχkstaiaiañpiua *there is the door, does he not see?* obt. 23, 20.

áχkakitsàkaiaiañitsiuaie *he will never be able to kill it* obt. 30, 10.

kaxkstáyinomòki *there is nobody to prevent me from killing you* (lit.: *that you may not die for me*) obt. 39, 34.

## II. a $\chi k$ - c. indicativo with -p i.

To the relative idea expressed by -p i a  $\chi k$  - adds a modal one.

a) final and consecutive; also with only -p i:

àχkstaiaimoyi áχkitàpistutsixpi *let it not be a long time (before, that) we shall fix (these lodges)* obt. 60, 9.

máχksoatòχpiau *(he would not give them) something that they might eat* obt. 35, 16.

máχksoatàχpi *(they were nearly all dead) for something that they might eat* obt. 12, 16.

káχkakχosixpik *(these are) that you can boil* obt. 38, 26.

Cf. the purely relative idea of -p i alone:

itsínitaxpi *(it is a long time) that she was killed* obt. 26, 23.

nitsksínixpists *(things) which I know* nbt. 217, 29.

b) in the equivalents of our dependent questions:

kitákanik káχkitapòχpi *she will tell you, where you can go* obt. 51, 31.

nitáksksinixp káχkanistspùmmoχpi *I shall know the way I shall help you.*

káχkanistsitapìixpi *(he will tell you) how you can live* obt. 52, 22.



Cf. without a  $\chi k$  - : *otsitóχkotāχpi* (she heard there some one singing) where (while) she cut wood obt. 12, 19.  
*otsítaupixp* (they would get to the place) where he used to sit obt. 35, 23.

### III. a $\chi k$ - c. conjunctivo.

a) final; also without a  $\chi k$  - :

*aχkstáminakxtaxs* (why did our father say) that we should not roll it eastward? obt. 27, 12.

*maχkstátsaks* that they must not go out obt. 10, 29.

(may be also a false conjunctive, for the verbal root is *saks* -).

(o)*máχksoyis* (they put by him) that he might eat obt. 44, 11.

*naχkótakðaxsau* (they told me) that I must give them a drink obt. 15, 11.

*náχkotomoāipiksistaxs* (she told me) that I should gather up (these pieces) obt. 42, 26.

*máχksinisaie* (they wanted to stop it) that it might die obt. 27, 15.

*máχksksinoaxsaie* (he is thinking) that he may know it obt. 38, 15.

Without a  $\chi k$  - :

*otsúmmaχs* (he tried hard) that he rubs obt. 54, 24.

*anistsís ixtsískaχs* tell him that he must make a sweat-lodge obt. 56, 6.

*anis(ts)ísau inftaxsauaie; akékoānāsisaie, máksitaxsauaie* say to them, that they kill him; if it is a girl, that they wrap her up obt. 38, 1.

b) in cases, corresponding with our dependent clauses with „that”, e. g., noun clauses, imperatives in the oratio indirecta, etc.:

*máχksinitaxsàuaiks ki máχksitsðataχsàuaiks* (they said) that they should kill and eat them obt. 10, 30.

káχkainoαχs (*it is not good*) *that you see him* obt. 6, 19.  
 káχkitòmisi (*it is all right*) *that you (fem.) get married.*  
 αχksínitâχs (*I don't think*) *that he is killed* obt. 53, 20.  
 áχksuyisksânnoiàs (*he says*) *that he wants curly arrows*  
*to be made for him* obt. 30, 14; cf. suyisksânoidòkit  
*make a curly arrow for me.*

máχkitsipiksìstsis (*she says*) *that she will show the people*  
*that I am a warrior* nbt. 76, 1.

c) in sentences, which we would render by adjective  
 clauses, with a potentialis:

ámom nínauyìs káχkitsipìsi *that one is a man's-lodge,*  
*where you ought to go in* obt. 41, 24; cf. kipitáuyis  
 omím otsítsipixp *the lodge he went into was an old-*  
*woman's-lodge* obt. 41, 23.

káχkitapotàkis (*with some stick there*) *that you can look*  
*about for* obt. 33, 30.

### αχk-, αχky-, αχkyap- home.

Probably αχk y a p- is compounded with -(t) a p-,  
 see t a p-.

Once an independent adverbial form is noted:

omám αχkyápoχtàm àkéuzm *a woman over there at*  
*home* nbt. 26, 10.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verbal stem followed by a verb-  
 alizing suffix:

αχkúnαχkaiop *let us go home* nbt. 102, 19.

άχkitαχkaiòp *let us go home* obt. 44, 25.

kitákitαχkài *you will go back (scil. home)* nbt. 76, 24.

táμαχkapiuaie *then he took (his wife) home* nbt.  
 150, 12.

άχkapiuaie *he brought it home* nbt. 186, 8.

N.B. In the last two forms we recognize the causa-  
 tive suffix -pi-.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix. Properly speaking the form a  $\chi$  k- only once has been met with:

it $\chi$ kénikatsimàu *she ran home for help* nbt. 145, 10.

it $\chi$ kyápukskasìu *she ran home* nbt. 90, 2.

it $\chi$ kyápasainikyàyayiu *he ran home crying* nbt. 126, 16.

it $\chi$ kyápistsipatakayayiu *she ran home fast* nbt. 109, 30.

itauá $\chi$ kyapapòtsiu *they (lit. he) would go home with the carcasses* nbt. 3, 10.

it $\chi$ kyápautsimaiau *then they went home to get their things* nbt. 22, 34.

itauá $\chi$ kyapá $\chi$ pummau *then (the people) would go home after buying* nbt. 14, 15.

á $\chi$ kiapapòtsinai *he came home with the pieces of the carcass* nbt. 124, 18.

nitsít $\chi$ kyàpistotsipinan *we moved over to our ranch* nbt. 238, 17.

it $\chi$ kyápapòtsiau *they came back with the pieces of the carcasses* nbt. 113, 2.

**$\chi$ kun-**; as to the form and the functions cf. a  $\chi$  k- (I c and e).

It stands always at the beginning of a word-complex, and the two initial sounds a  $\chi$  - often are subject to aphaeresis.

1<sup>o</sup>. adhortative in the 1 prs. plur. imperative (cf. a  $\chi$  k- Ie):

ómì $\chi$ k á $\chi$ kuna $\chi$ tàpauàua $\chi$ kau *let us travel that way* obt. 53, 10.

a $\chi$ kúnã $\chi$ pòka $\chi$ kaiop *let us go home together* obt. 6, 15.

á $\chi$ kunã $\chi$ kitapàuop nínna *let us go to my father* obt. 9, 20.

a $\chi$ kúnistapàuop *let us go away* nbt. 1, 26.

kúnã $\chi$ kaiòp *let us go home* nbt. 9, 17.

kunitapáuop *let us go (to)* nbt. 8, 34.

2<sup>0</sup>. with potential meaning (cf. aχk - Ic):

aχkúnauotòì *he might come* obt. 37, 9.

aiáu aχkúnauaipokakiau annám nínauzm ... mis-  
kátssàksist *oh, before that man wakes up* (lit. *he might wake up*) ... *you had better go out* obt. 45, 3.

**aχtso-** *instead.*

sotámχtsoamitapaupínai *then he just stayed around instead (of Round-cut-scabby-robe)* nbt. 90, 35.

áuaxtsauaikimmatàpsiu *he became poor instead (of the ancient Peigans)* nbt. 166, 16.

**amai-, omai-, umai-, imai-** *very, much*; as to functions cf. a k a i -.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verbal stem, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

itótsòtau; ikúमितau *it then began to rain; it (rained) hard* nbt. 231, 34. It is not quite impossible that here we have to do with another stem for „to rain”.

2<sup>0</sup>. in substantives:

amáitsoàskuists *thick forests* nbt. 60, 13.

stámitotòiau, tsiskáie amáipitàkein *then they came to that, which was a very old woman* obt. 62, 15.

3<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix.

a) *very, in a high degree*:

amáistuyiù *it is very cold* nbt. 23, 23.

imakúmaistuyis *even if it was very cold* nbt. 12, 8.

stamátamaiiksaiitsimau *then she denied it hard* nbt. 150, 6.

ímakomaiskumatàpsis *even if it is a bad case* (i. e. a bad wound) nbt. 57, 9.

maiáii támiamaχsìn *her robe then was very fine* nbt. 137, 7.

nitúmaistuyis *because I am very much ashamed* nbt. 73, 42.

nétomayâxtùyeuaie (nít-omai-oxtoyuaie. Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 21) *he plainly (entirely, very well) heard her (say so)* de J. de J. bt. 34, 24.

netúmaisoaskàkanika *he energetically did not consent to say („yes”) to me* de J. de J. bt. 31, 21. Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 19 says about this form: „= nitómai-sauzskàkanika. The prefix nit-, which is the positional form of nitúkska one, emphasizes the strengthening value of -omai- (=amai- „in a high degree”).” Cf. sub nit-.

nítumiainoyiuaiks *he saw them plainly* nbt. 189, 14.

miskúkumaiikòtsisiu *he smoked harder instead* obt. 28, 11.

b) as a verbal prefix still; cf. akai- (3<sup>0</sup>):

imáitskamiu *he is still fighting (him)* obt. 49, 4.

ki ánnok anáukox̄t áxkumitopzmapaitapiu ákai-Pekèni *and now half of the ancient Peigans is still living about across* obt. 5, 29.

imáinanaisiuaiks *they still own those (things)* nbt. 91, 15.

imáinixkáxtoyiauaie *they still sing to (the moon)* nbt. 92, 19.

c) as a characteristic prefix of the perfect, like ksist- and akai-. Only combined with the negative prefixes mat- and sau-, which combinations are best of all rendered by *not yet*:

nimátomaisksinipa auaxkáutsisists *I do not know yet about wars* nbt. 75, 26.

mátomapixtsiuaiks *they had not gone far yet* nbt. 200, 8.

mátomaiszmòats *it was not yet a long while* obt. 46, 4.

sauumáipuausi *before (all the people) got up* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

sáuumaisòpuyìnakus *before day-light* obt. 13, 14 (lit. may-be: *when there is yet no wind and day-light*).  
sauumáísopuyìnakus *before day-light* obt. 39, 7.

**(amap-) umap-** *always*; a m a i - + a p -; cf. a k a p -.  
isáists otáumàpipuxpùχsimatoχs *as they were always melting fat* obt. 1, 3.

**amat-** *to try*.

ámatoχtoχkònimat *try to find (a piece) from it* nbt. 138, 30.

(místaputamìnasoχtsi) amátsepitòtot *try to get (down on the other side of it) during the night* obt. 52, 12.

amátàχkusksinòs, omàχtákâχkuinixpì *try to find out from her, what will cause her death* nbt. 104, 35.

**ami-** *up, on high*.

1<sup>o</sup>. *up, on a horse*:

anàtamiàupik *sit up again* nbt. 31, 14.

itauámiaupiu *then (the Peigan tribe) would sit up* nbt. 3, 6.

mátsitauamiàupiu *then (the party) sat on their horses (lit. up) again* nbt. 30, 31.

nitsítsitamiâ`χpauau *I jumped on him (scil. on the horse)* nbt. 219, 23.

2<sup>o</sup>. *up to the prairie, away from the river*:

itapáuæmiâksistutsiù (the Peigan tribe) *turned back and moved up* nbt. 14, 28.

támamistutsiu *then (the Peigan tribe) moved up* nbt. 1, 16.

ákamistutsòp *we shall move up (away from the river)* nbt. 1, 15.

tàmamísamiu *then (the tribe) went up (to the prairie) to hunt* nbt. 12, 5.

itauámistutsiu *then (the tribe) moved up (on the prairie)*  
nbt. 14, 16.

matsítskamistutsopa *we moved back (towards the prairie)*  
nbt. 5, 29.

3°. *in sight of* (esp. *of a camp*); nearly always the combination o t - a m i - was noted. Cf. o t -.

páuaxkùyi tótamiàupiu *he sat in sight on a hill* nbt. 83, 6.

ákotamiàtaiayìau *they would come in sight of the camp in a circle* nbt. 32, 8.

itxmiátayayiu *he came up going in a circle* nbt. 126, 5.

támotamiòpiu *then (the people) sat in sight (of the enemy's camp)* nbt. 79, 16.

N.B. otótomiomaxkáiau *they came in sight of* nbt. 79, 11.

N.B. N.B. atámipùxsaput *come up (to my camp) after a while* nbt. 226, 30. Perhaps we have to see in this form haplology for: a t x m - + a m i -.

4°. *up* in general.

itsitápmisòyinai *she went up to them* nbt. 110, 18.

ipisóaxs áutamiskapiu *the morning-star was coming up*  
nbt. 27, 9.

mískstxmamiàpiksatsìuaie *he jumped at him in spite (of his shooting)* nbt. 17, 14.

**amiskap-** *south*. As to the derivation it is not clear, whether it contains the prefix a m i - and the verbal stem s k a p - *to pull*; or perhaps the prefixes a m i -, s k - and (t) a p -. Cf. ómaxtapàutamiskapi *where (the sun) rises* obt. 51, 2.

ipisóaxs áutamiskapiu *the morning-star was coming up*  
nbt. 27, 9.

It is taken down among the prefixes on account of

its meaning, entirely fitting in this list, though it has been only noted as independent verb and adverb:

amiskápoχtsk (*they went*) *south* obt. 48, 5.

nitákzmskàpo *I shall go south* obt. 48, 3.

amiskápoχtsi *in the south* nbt. 167, 17.

**amit-** *up the river* (especially used of the rivers east of the Rocky Mountains). Perhaps combination of *ami-* + *it-* *up ... there* (*there* means: that generally known place, the river). In the examples *-it-* has nowhere been found, which is an indication the more, that we have to see in the *t* of *amit-* a form of *-it-*. Often *amit-* has been conceived as, and so may be rendered by, *westward*, cf. *pinap-* *down the river, eastward*.

The independent adverbial form is also noted:

amítóχts *higher up the river* obt. 44, 2.

amítóχtsk *higher up the river* obt. 41, 19.

amétâχtsk (*up the river*) *westward* de J. de J. bt. 44, 23.

ákoχtamitapaukèkaup *we shall camp about along the river* nbt. 6, 23.

ákametsistutskixtsip *we shall move up* nbt. 6, 21.

nisótzmâχtamitomaxk *I then went higher up (up the river or up the prairie?)* nbt. 241, 10.

**amotap-** *all over, all about*.

Probably consisting of the elements: *amai-* + *mot(ui)-* + *ap-*; cf. *motui-*, *motap-*.

Three times the form *omotap-* was noted.

áistzmamotapìpoχtoχpi *that were all carried about* nbt. 3, 38.

áistzmamotapìpiaii itapótsopiks *the horses that had meat on them would be taken all over (the camp)* nbt. 3, 36.



áikakitomautapauàukiu *they moved about just a little*  
nbt. 5, 18.

áitomotapâxpokyâxpîinai *while he was jumping about,*  
*the arrow was going in the same direction* nbt. 182, 22.

íkatomotapaiaksistapiksiu *he began to be ready to jump*  
*about* nbt. 182, 21.

ninóχkomotapaiàkstsip *I kept trying to steer the cars*  
*of the lodge about* nbt. 138, 15.

**an-** *now*; cf. the demonstrative *anno* *this one right*  
*here* and the relative pronoun *annoχk*, nearly  
always used as temporal adverb *now* (Uhlenbeck, *Some*  
*General Aspects of Blackfoot Morphology*, p. 22—23).  
Only noted as first prefix at the beginning of impe-  
rative forms; variants to be found are *an-*, *an(n)i-*,  
*an(n)i-*, *n-*:

ansákapuxs *let him come out* obt. 53, 5.

ánnisaksist *come out* nbt. 104, 17.

ánikakitaupit *just sit there* obt. 39, 17.

anikípuxksíkiakoki *quickly make a trap for me* obt.  
31, 14.

annáitsinomòkit *make me moccasins* nbt. 22, 1.

annopakíit *now move* nbt. 165, 17.

ànskót *go back* nbt. 180, 22.

ànsámik *go and hunt* nbt. 23, 23.

anátàsámik *go again and hunt* nbt. 107, 24.

anátχmiàupik *get on your horses again* nbt. 31, 14.

anísóminít *now take off your clothes* nbt. 47, 16.

anínisau(o)k *now get off!* obt. 10, 24.

annoχtótakitàu *now take from them* nbt. 77, 30.

annápaiinimât *now begin to catch your horses* nbt. 3, 5.

nápanisàu(o)t *begin to get off about* nbt. 31, 2.

Sometimes *annoχk-* is found as a prefix:

annóχkanìt *you must say now* nbt. 111, 24.

annoχkókit *give me her now* nbt. 147, 28.

annóχkoχpotòmitsit *now you must take the lead* nbt. 171, 14.

annóχkotaxkòsit *go and get the carcase.*

Perhaps also the form *a n n a u k -* in:

náukitxχkànaisaksìau *now they all came out (of their holes)* nbt. 117, 15.

**anauk-** *half; one (of a pair).*

Independent adverbial forms:

anáukoχtsi tzmomyanistàinimiàu *they cut one side in different pieces* nbt. 31, 13.

anáukoχtsi otokísi *half of the hide* nbt. 25, 10.

kxnauánaukoχtsi *the half of it* nbt. 80, 26.

As a prefix:

1<sup>o</sup>. in substantives:

omí otánnaukotokèmi ánnimaie itotátsipòtsim *she put (them) down on her half of a hide* nbt. 11, 4.

2<sup>o</sup>. in verbs:

noχtókisi tákauanaukùpistokiàs *I will keep down one of my ears* nbt. 141, 22.

áiãχkanaukùpistokiàsìau *they all kept one ear down* nbt. 141, 24.

tákauanaukitòmikàs *I will throw one of my legs out in front* nbt. 141, 25.

áiãχkxnaukitomikàsìau *they all throw one of their legs out in front* nbt. 141, 26.

ánaukapinù *he was one-eyed* nbt. 198, 13.

**anau-, ani-**

Only noted in some names of months:

aniotsítaisisksemokuxpi *when the grass grows* = *April*.

anauotsítaisaisuyòpoksokopi *when the leaves come out = May.*

anáuotsistsinistsotsitaiitspi *when the strawberries get ripe = June.*

anáuitapoxkiakiopi *when we are cutting hay = September.*

anáuotsitauapipitsxkoxpi *when the leaves dry up = October.*

**anist-** cf. **manist-**.

**anit(s)-** *separately, all separately.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal stem, i.e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

ákanètøyiau *they were about to separate* nbt. 173, 21.

itánetðiau *they separated* nbt. 232, 8.

Several times in a formula used by raconteurs to finish their stories:

ki ánetoyi imitáiks *and the dogs have separated (after having had their meal)* nbt. 186, 32.

kénnyaie ánetoyi imitáiks *and now the dogs have separated* nbt. 41, 16.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix = *all separately* with only a slight stress on „separately”:

itánitxkàiiu *then all of them went home* nbt. 73, 35.

áukanauanitotuìpstosiu *all of them went to enter their holes* nbt. 122, 19.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix to *pieces*:

anítsiniòtsika *tear them up* nbt. 49, 15.

mátakanitsiniòtsima *he would not tear them* nbt. 49, 16.

otsitánnitsiniautomòk *he tore his clothes to pieces* nbt. 43, 3.

áiakxnaitsiniotakii (read: áiakxnitsini...) *they would tear them to pieces* nbt. 48, 20.

Prof. Uhlenbeck himself supposes that he has misheard ai for i, but contamination in the Indian mind of kanai- with anit- is possible as well.

N. B. anáukoχtsi tázomyanistàinimiàu *they cut one side in different pieces* nbt. 31, 13. One is led to think that here too anit- would fit much better than -anist-.

4<sup>0</sup>. *separately; in different directions:*

itánetomazkàiau *and they ran away separately* nbt. 173, 16.

itauánitsistutsiu *then (the people) separated (by bands)* nbt. 5, 23.

okóauaists itauánitsitapazkaiiau *they separated going home to their lodges* nbt. 32, 18.

itánitsumaχkàiaiks *then they ran out separately* nbt. 192, 23.

sotámanitsipiksiu *then it (the buffalo-herd) ran all in different directions* nbt. 142, 17.

5<sup>0</sup>. *always.*

anitsipótapozkistau *he would always lay one of them pointing to (the moon)* nbt. 77, 25.

**ap-** *about, round.*

Once at the end of a substantive:

máksiniapì *the carcasses about* nbt. 4, 4.

The combination itap- which occurs rather frequently seems to mean *to begin*, and so it is to be analysed as it- + tap(o), cf. tap-. Indeed there are many cases in which it is difficult to decide, whether we have to do with ap- or tap-.

1<sup>0</sup>. *about:*

áistámitsinapapaukunàiiu *there (the people) would be camped about* nbt. 7, 26.

kitápsàsmmok *he is looking about for you* nbt. 76, 26.  
tázmoxtsapàpauauaxkàiinai *walking about, he then fol-*  
*lowed (the road)* nbt. 143, 4.

ápasàtsimiau *they began to look about* nbt. 30, 5.

ákoxtamitapaukèkaup *we shall camp about along the*  
*river* nbt. 6, 23.

áχsa kímāxtapauàuaχkaup *what are you travelling about*  
*for?* nbt. 75, 23.

ápaistaukàtskàt *go about to get lodge-pins!* nbt. 1, 15.

itápaisaistoyiàu *they went crying about the camp* nbt.  
1, 14.

támatapàisaisto *then again he cried about the camp* nbt.  
2, 23.

sótzmapsàmmokaie *then he looked about for him* nbt.  
73, 36.

tázmoxtapauàuaχkau *he then walked about* nbt. 79, 8.

2<sup>0</sup>. In many cases ap- apparently has lost its literal meaning referring to space and has become a colourless suffix to other prefixes, cf. akap-, aχkyap-(tap-?), ksisap-, ksistap-, manistap-, nitap-, pinap-, satap-, etc. E.g.:

mánatāχkàpinausiu *those that had a new way of dressing*  
nbt. 73, 14.

einí ómāxtapautsatsìxp *where the buffalo would come*  
*the nearest* nbt. 7, 27.

N.B. ómaie apáipuyiuaie *over there is (a man) standing*  
*up* nbt. 79, 24.

apáiksimatsìmmotseiauaie *they were happy to meet one*  
*another* nbt. 77, 2.

itápāχpatskòtsiu *(the people) made a rush (crowding one*  
*another)* nbt. 81, 14.

**apam-** *across (the river, the water).*

After other elements we find in compounds also:  
- o p a m -, - u p a m -.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, that is to say only immediately followed by verbalizing suffixes:

áupxmo *he crossed* obt. 5, 11.

áupxmò *she crossed* nbt. 129, 29.

noxkopámiopiokinan *take us across* nbt. 129, 8.

amóm psóaupxmìpiok *why does not this one take me across?* nbt. 129, 31.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

áχkumitopxmapaitapiu *is still living about across* obt. 5, 29.

autxmákopxmistàiiua *he was nearly diving across* nbt. 88, 16.

aíisopxmotototàiau *they went on ahead across the river to build a fire* nbt. 23, 7.

3<sup>o</sup>. The adverb a p á m o χ t (s i) is rather frequent.  
N.B. tápopomāχtsi *towards the other side of the river* nbt. 88, 14.

**apxt-** *behind; back.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

nínitapàtau *I was the last one* nbt. 232, 22.

2<sup>o</sup>. in substantives:

otapátoχkatsists *his hindlegs.*

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix of verbal forms:

nísótzmitapataupi *I sat behind it* nbt. 229, 26.

itapátskapínai *then he pulled back* nbt. 168, 23.

minapátsapìt *do not look back* nbt. 207, 12.

Combined with - u χ s - (- á χ s -, - o χ s -) *back* (cf. sub u χ s -) a p x t - occurs several times with the meaning (*to the*) *north*, e. g.:

áp̄toχsais̄piu *he was looking north* nbt. 66, 19.

ómaχkauk áp̄toχsò *they went north over that way* nbt. 167, 33.

The adverbial form of this combination is áp̄toχsoχtsi (*it is over north* nbt. 187, 3), not to be confounded with the adverbial form of a p̄ t- scil. ap̄tóχtsik (*long ago* obt. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2) which is often verbalized:

paχtsikápatoχtsikâukin *he was just a little behind her* obt. 19, 18.

ap̄tóχtsikâukinai *he was coming behind* obt. 43, 9.

paχtsikápatâχtsikâukinai (*his partner*) *was right behind him* nbt. 82, 1.

#### **apokap-** *reversed.*

Cf. makap- *bad*, ikokap- *very bad*.

apókapi tapìu *he is a person with whom everything is reversed* nbt. 49, 24.

ixtapókapi nixkatau *he was called the reverse of it* nbt. 67, 14.

otápokapi nixkakoaie (*people*) *reversed their name* (lit. *called them reversed*) obt. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2.

istoχkanáuapokapitapiu *he is the person with whom everything is most reversed* nbt. 49, 25.

#### **asi-** *just.*

Usually noted with an imperative and often combined with -kip- *just, for a moment* (cf. sub kip-).

kásikipsketso *I just scare you for a while* obt. 40, 15.

sisíkit (from: asi-síkit) *just break it* nbt. 2, 3.

N. B. asópàtsis *chair* (lit. *a thing to sit upon for a moment*).

Perhaps asi- may be connected with as- *little, young*, which has only been noticed in substantive forms

(see: C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Het identificeerend karakter der possessieve flexie in talen van Noord-Amerika*, p. 18) \*).

**aso-** *covering* (?)

soksistsíkui *cloud*; cf. ksistsikúi *day*.

sokásimi *shirt*.

asókaiis *trunk*, cf. káiis *dried meat*.

**askak(s)-** *consent, will, can.*

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb:

nitáaskak *I consent*.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix, most times, but not always, with a negation:

áskàkaniu *he consents*.

mátzskàksipuauats *she would not get up* nbt. 103, 29.

mátzskaksapiksiàua (*the buffaloes*) *would not run in* obt. 13, 25.

mátzskàksauatòm *he refused to eat them* obt. 6, 29.

mát(α)skàkspummoyìuaiksauaie *they did not want to help him* nbt. 213, 24.

mátzskaksoða *she did not consent to go in* nbt. 151, 2.

**askzs-** *always.*

In the forms recorded it is always the first element of the compound, at least if we leave out of account the personal prefixes and the prefix *ma t-* *not* by which it is preceded.

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\*) Versl. en Meded. d. Kon. Akad. v. Wetenschappen. Afd. Letterkunde. 5e R. Dl. II. 1916. Amsterdam.



ánnaxkaie askxsáipiskiu *those were the people (that) were always corralling* nbt. 37, 19.

áskxsaiiksinòksiu *he had always plenty of food to eat with delight* nbt. 200, 15.

áskxsaiikoanimiuaie *she is always playing with him* nbt. 102, 23.

áskxsastaiinai *he was always thinking* obt. 4, n<sup>o</sup>. 19.

askxkspaumóksàkiuae *always he had it under his arm* obt. 11, 7.

áskxsauàsainiu *he always cried* nbt. 74, 11.

**asok-** *about, across one another.*

I have only noted it in combination with a u-:

áistəmauasokòyiau *they would go about* nbt. 3, 15; nbt. 3, 39.

itauásokòmaxkaup *we began to run across one another* nbt. 18, 16.

1<sup>o</sup>. **at(s)-**, cf. 2<sup>o</sup>. m a t (s)- *again.*

2<sup>o</sup>. **at(s)-** *around, in a circle.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, scil. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

áuautsiau *they made a circle* nbt. 16, 24.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

uskáni átsistoxkinatsiuaie *he had his younger brother round his neck* nbt. 79, 29.

támatsistoxkinatsiuaie *he then wore him round his neck* nbt. 79, 4.

itatsótopatòm *(the people) sat all around it* nbt. 119, 8.

itótamiatâyaiiua *(the war-party) came in a circle in sight of the camp* nbt. 89, 22.

ákotamiàtaiayìau *they would come in sight of the camp in a circle* nbt. 32, 8.

**aumatap-, omatap-.**

A compound of 2 verb-stems, scil. a u m a t(o)- and t a p(o)- with the respective meanings of *to start* and *to go*; cf. 3<sup>o</sup>. m a t-, and t a p-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

áístxmomatapòiau *they then went* obt. 34, 20.

stáxmsepiòmatapòiau *then they started in the night* obt. 39, 9.

ikiómatapòyinai *they all were going on a raid* nbt. 79, 7.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *to begin*:

itáumatapasàiniu *he began to cry* nbt. 75, 6.

áumatapiitsimàu (*the people*) *began to skin* nbt. 3, 8.

mátsitomatapìksisàu (*the buffalo-herd*) *had started again to run* obt. 15, 24.

otáumatapsekotsisàuaists *when they began to gather them up* obt. 26, 15.

stámatomatapipæskau *then (the buffalo-herd) began to dance again* obt. 21, 10.

itomátapitàxsiu *and then (the Peigan tribe) began to have the scalp-dance* nbt. 82, 24.

áumatapòtsim *he started to swim* nbt. 79, 30.

A peculiar form has o m a t a p- in:

nitsítomatapioyì *I began to eat* nbt. 226, 8.

totamátapinòkit *begin holding me* obt. 38, 30.

N.B. a u m a t a p-, o m a t a p- may not be mistaken for a m o t a p-; see there.

**aut-,** cf. o t-, o t a m i-, o t s a t-, o t a k-.

**a(u)tɛm-** *after a while*. It is most times found in imperatives; in other forms it nearly always occurs in combination with futural *a k (s)-* (cf. *a u t ɛ m a k -*); but we find also:

*itáutamínistutsiu (the people) moved down after a while*  
nbt. 14, 24.

1°. with the obvious meaning *after a while*:

*atámipùɣsaput come up (to my camp) after a while* nbt. 226, 30 (possibly haplology for *a t ɛ m i - a m i -*, cf. *a m i -*).

*atáminoksatòk after a while you must own them (inan.)*  
obt. 44, 27.

*atáminoksatot after a while be owner of them (inan.)*  
obt. 41, 4.

2°. This meaning is weakened to *then*:

*atámoɣtakaiit then you must go from* obt. 48, 31.

*atámanistsisau say then (to your pets)* obt. 19, 26.

*atámikstsínixtsit noɣtókisi bite then the end of my ear!*  
nbt. 128, 16.

### **autɛm-ak-**

1°. *on the very verge of, on the point of, about*:

*autamákixtàtsikaiksistsiku it was about noon* nbt. 231, 1.

*nitautɛmáksinisi I was about to fall off* nbt. 232, 25.

*áutɛmataksáɣpi(u) (the rope) was just about to come off*  
nbt. 228, 7.

2°. *soon*.

*autɛmákotò she will soon be here* obt. 33, 14.

*autɛmákomàtapò he will soon go* obt. 52, 26.

3°. *nearly*.

*kitáutɛmsauatàksino I nearly don't see you any more*  
obt. 29, 8. Cf. *kitátamisauatsina* (= *kit-áutɛmi-sau-ats-*

ino; Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 29) *I nearly do not see you any more now* de J. de J. bt. 47, 10.

autzmáksikoχpatsiuaie *he nearly felled it* obt. 17, 15.

autzmáksèniua (*the people*) *nearly died (for something to eat)* nbt. 131, 16.

autzmáksàkutsiu (*the pot*) *is nearly boiling over* obt. 26, 30.

autzmákāχkznàiniu (*the people*) *were nearly all dead* obt. 12, 15.

autzmákopχmistàiua *he was nearly diving across* nbt. 88, 16.

áutzmáksikoko *it was nearly night* obt. 57, 16.

áutzmaksiksistsipχskàup *we have nearly done dancing* nbt. 192, 20.

áitamakitsuyinipitsiau *they were nearly frozen in the water* nbt. 23, 12.

annóχk autzmáksapanístsoyi nitótokānimists *now I have pretty near enough of my scalps* nbt. 108, 13.

taùtzmáksipuxsòixpinan *we are nearly smothered from smoke* obt. 28, 3.

N.B. moksíks nitákotχmoχtsèni *I can only die by awls* (cf. nbt. 106, 14: *I would die by awls*) nbt. 106, 5.

### ik(s)- *very*.

ik(s)-, which may be cognate with ak- *much*, occurs in different combinations, e.g.: ikskai- (from: iks-ikai-), iik(s)- („Zerdehnung” as German philologists would say, ergo this form is not a „combination”) and even: ikskaiik(s)-.

íkakauoyi auauáχsaists *there are very many foods* nbt. 76, 19.

íkakauoiau mǝ́nists *there are very many berries* nbt. 5, 3.

iikátosatom *he became a great medicine-man* obt. 63, 9.

áiiksiksistuyiu *it got very hot* obt. 37, 11.

áiiksiszmò *after a very long time* obt. 15, 17.

1<sup>0</sup>. **ikəm-** *quick*.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

ikázmsin *he was fast* nbt. 189, 2.

iksíkəmo *he is very fast*.

ikamó *get up!* (talking to horses).

2<sup>0</sup>. as a prefix:

itsíkamistutsiu *then (the people) moved fast* nbt. 7, 5.

itákəmoχkanaupaistutòaii imoiániks *then they all began quickly to make robes* nbt. 13, 4.

3<sup>0</sup>. as a prefix with a somewhat different, though undoubtedly, derived meaning, scil. *eventually, perhaps*.

a) c. subjunctivo:

kamóχkitsitsixki *there might be some one* nbt. 73, 5.

b) c. conjunctivo:

ikəmáχsitakisàie *if he is pleased* obt. 6, 9.

kəmítatsàpsis *if she was foolish* nbt. 33, 23.

ikəmítsaiisìnias *if he does not hit it* nbt. 242, 27.

íkəmitakiasi *if he hits (the ball)* nbt. 242, 10.

ikəmípixtsii *if (the buffalo-herd) is far away* nbt. 68, 29.

c) with aχk-:

áχksikəmsksinimaie *perhaps she will know it* obt. 51, 10.

áχksikəmatseinii *some more may die yet* nbt. 114, 7.

áχksikəməipiau *just about ten* nbt. 236, 37; cf. áχkai-stokàmi nitomíxkàniks *I catch about two fishes* nbt. 236, 27.

d) with a k - (futurum conjunctivi, see Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 19):

káksikəmitotànik *he will perhaps go and tell you* obt. 6, 10.

náksikəmoχkoàimau *I shall perhaps have use of him* obt. 6, 13.

e. with the irrealis, see Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 27.

**20. ikam-** *straight, right.*

Perhaps cognate with 1<sup>0</sup>. ikam-, although it has secondary forms, which never occur with the meaning of 1<sup>0</sup>. ikam-, scil. -okam- and mokam- (cf. itom-, otom-, matom-). The prefix mokam- always and ikam- nearly always take the first place in a word-complex; -okam- never except in:

okámipuyisaàmists *the war-bonnets standing straight up* nbt. 19, 23.

Examples:

mokámanâukox̣t *right half (of the buffalo-herd)* nbt. 139, 23.

stámaukamòtspuxpâipiix̣k *he just jumped straight up* obt. 46, 17.

stókamotspuxpiis *if it goes straight up in the air* nbt. 242, 28.

áukamipâpiksìstaiâu *they were put straight up* nbt. 1, 25.

sotá mokamòtaitapò *then he went straight (to)* obt. 11, 25.

**ikit-** *over, across.*

ponoká'mitaiks itáikitatsìmaiau *they (the dead) were laid across on horses* nbt. 21, 4.

**(i)kin-** 1<sup>0</sup>. *soft, in substantives:*

ikináuksisakùì *soft meat* nbt. 145, 1.

2<sup>0</sup>. *slowly, as a verbal prefix:*

kináutamisò *he went slowly up* nbt. 180, 1.

nisótzmikinauax̣kax̣pinan *we then went slowly* nbt. 231, 35.

3<sup>0</sup>. *easy, gently, as a verbal prefix:*

ikináikaìinimiâu *they opened it easy* nbt. 204, 5.

otsítsikinanâχkimokâie *she gently laid his head down*  
nbt. 197, 9.

átsikikinautæmiðχkiàkiu *then he again very gently looked*  
*over the hill at him* obt. 63, 19.

**ikiu-** *all (together).*

ikiómatapðyinai (*the Peigan tribe*) *were all going on a*  
*raid* nbt. 79, 7.

ikiuókunaiiu (*the people*) *was all camping together* nbt.  
112, 1; 126, 11.

ikiómatapð (*the Peigan tribe*) *all went* obt. 57, 2.

N.B. itáuikiotâχpummâu (*the people*) *all went on to*  
*buy* nbt. 14, 1.

**ikyai-** *finally.*

ikyáiaainitsuaie (*the Peigan tribe*) *killed him after a*  
*hard fight* nbt. 103, 3.

nitsíkyaiaiskotâχkaiixpinan *we finally got back home*  
nbt. 231, 36.

ikyáiaupitsisod *he had a hard time to get out of the*  
*water* nbt. 170, 34.

itsíkyaiaiskistauâχkautsèiau *then they finally stopped*  
*fighting* nbt. 213, 3.

ikyáiaâχkòinimìu *he finally found (the enemy)* nbt. 83, 18.

ikyáiaâχkonoyiaie *she finally found him* nbt. 159, 7.

10. **ixk-** becomes -oχk- in itoχk-; cf. moχk-.

See as for this change: -ixp-, and -ixt-, also:  
ápekoχkùminimâu „Round-cut-scabby-robe”, and ixk-  
umínitsuaie *she had cut it around* nbt. 73, 20; ixk-  
otsúaie *she gave him those* nbt. 82, 23 and kítoχkot  
*I give it to you*. Cf. also Uhlenbeck, Flexion of substan-  
tives in Blackfoot p. 29.

It is best translated by: *on, on top of*; e. g.:

áitoχkitòpiuaie *she sat on top of it* nbt. 202, 31.

ixkitópisòè (*the party*) *went to war on horseback*  
nbt. 16, 13.

tsánistsinami kitákixkitopixp *and what color (of horse)*  
*will you ride on?* obt. 1, 17.

ixksksínoyiu *he knows about them* nbt. 43, 22.

2<sup>0</sup>. **ixk-** *gone, ended.*

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

áketsinixkaiaiks *they were nearly all gone* nbt. 172, 7.

itsítsinixkauaie *then it was all gone* nbt. 178, 28.

mátakètsinixkàua *all of them will not be gone* nbt.  
208, 28.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a prefix:

ánnnyauk ixkixtsíu *there was the end of the smoke* nbt.  
157, 12.

k'énnimaie ixkakútsiu *and now the boiling is ended*  
nbt. 92, 21 (one of the many formulas used by story-  
tellers to conclude their narrative).

ixksinóyiua otákai *it was the last he saw of his partner.*

**ixp-**. Sometimes -oχp-, e. g.: mátoχpitomatapoχkoka-  
kiniâpiks(iu) *he began to buck with me again* nbt. 233,  
4; cf. -ixk-, -ixt- and moχp-.

The general meaning of **ixp-** is: *with, accompanied by.*  
ixpitsínapistâiua *he dived with him down the river*  
nbt. 89, 15.

ixpítzχkayiuaiie *she went home with it* nbt. 103, 13.

íxpzχkànauaχkailau *they went home with them all*  
obt. 58, 13.



ixpŋtsùitsimaie *then he swam in the river with him*  
nbt. 80, 17.

ixpisústuyimiau *they were four years with it.*

kénni otákài ánnixpitotsáxkyàpiksuaie *and there close to his partner he threw his head up out of the water with him* nbt. 80, 24.

N.B. the very real meaning of *ixp-* in:

kixpitómatapòyinai (= ki ixpitómatapòyinai) *and then (the wolf) started off (scil. with the magic trick)* nbt. 170, 18.

**ixt-** cf. *mox-*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

ixtó *he went along* nbt. 182, 1.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix with the meaning: *from*. In some cases it may be translated by *along*. Often it is used to emphasize another local prefix:

anná támisokixtsisò *there was one that came forward*  
nbt. 73, 16.

itáixtsisàuyi *then they came forward* nbt. 73, 13.

ixtsítsx̄pauaniauaie *then they flew along after (him)* nbt. 190, 21.

áxkéyi ixtsóyinai *he was walking along on the water*  
nbt. 74, 15.

ixtsitámisò *he came up from* nbt. 172, 1.

ixtsístapitstsiu (*this it is*) *it started from* nbt. 101, 15.

ixtsínapapauàuaíxkaiixk *he was walking about along down the river* obt. 63, 12.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix *for, for the sake of*.

ixtoxkúmiu *he makes noise for* nbt. 175, 24.

ixtápaioikaiixk *he therefore slept about, (that he might have a dream)* nbt. 85, 7.

nistóyi ixtsóyiua *I cause him to eat* (lit. *he eats because of me*).

4<sup>o</sup>. as an instrumental prefix:

íxtsinauàsiua *he became a chief by it* nbt. 122, 18.

ixtáupimiskàupiau *it was made into ropes* nbt. 6, 7.

ixtáisokìnakìi *they doctored with it* nbt. 53, 9.

**imak-** *even*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

imaksíkapseks *even hard-seed-berries* nbt. 7, 16.

imaksínakâxtsi átsinaiiu *even a small piece of fat* obt. 13, 4.

imaksínakstsímiks *even the young ones* obt. 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

imakétokuyitoχkònimàsau notokâ'ni *if they find only one hair of my head* obt. 19, 27.

imaksínokapis *even when they had supplies* obt. 1, 4.

imakúmaistuyis *even if it was very cold* nbt. 12, 8.

**imat-** *nearly*.

imátâχkanainèpitsiu *(the people) nearly all froze* nbt. 76, 10.

áumatsipuàuyaiks *they nearly got up* nbt. 111, 8.

imátâχkanaisòpokokàpsiau *they were nearly all bad* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 11.

nitsímatoχtâukitsk *I nearly vomit from you* obt. 33, 18.

otsímatayìsitokaie *he was nearly hit by him* obt. 40, 7.

nitsímatoχtsinèts *I was nearly drowned* obt. 65, 4.

**in-** *down, off*.

Now and then the forms *ini-*, *aini-*, *an(i)-* are found.

1<sup>0</sup>. in the combination in-is- to go down, to get off.

ítsksinisò then she went back down nbt. 168, 25.

áikaksinisàu he only got off nbt. 33, 17.

páχtsikáχkokinisàu (the war-party) all got from their horses just for a moment nbt. 30, 30.

táminisò then he went down nbt. 163, 6.

nápanisau(o)t begin to get off about nbt. 31, 2.

ki áinisixk and he got thrown off nbt. 241, 2.

stsíkiks áinisii some of them fell off nbt. 209, 13.

anisáu(o)t come down nbt. 158, 23.

noχkátstsisinisoiauaniu he also jumped off in front nbt. 17, 12.

itánisoauaniàiks they jumped off their horses nbt. 17, 11.

2<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by a verbalizing suffix:

kənáinipiòk bring them all down nbt. 169, 5.

stáminièpiuaie okóaista then she took him down to their lodges nbt. 168, 33.

3<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

stáminoχpatsistuyiaie he then shot her down nbt. 110, 30.

kénnaie itsitánnoyiu from there (the people) shot down nbt. 40, 5.

ínásinai she was stuck (in the snow) nbt. 135, 1.

otsítsinisokotakaie it spat down on him nbt. 186, 18.

tsitsinápzə̀piu he looked down all round obt. 57, 13.

áχké inamátsuiepuyiu he stood down in the water nbt. 146, 7.

máχksinistàts that they moved down nbt. 7, 25.

nisoóyi otsínixtanists four were the things he put in the pot nbt. 155, 13 (?)

itáutamínístutsiu (*the people*) moved down nbt. 14, 24.  
 itsénnaukimiuaie *she put his head down* nbt. 125, 23.

**inui-, ino- long.**

1<sup>o</sup>. as predicative adjective; see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

inúiskínètsimàni *long sacks* nbt. 2, 20.

Inokímists *Long-lakes* nbt. 5, 25.

inoksíasts *they were long sticks* nbt. 34, 20.

Inóyisoxtsani *Long-ass-John* (nickname).

Inyókakinyáχtso *Long-back-Joe* (nickname).

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

mátsinoaipuyòatsiks (i. e. mátsinoaipuyùatsiks) *he did not say anything for a long time* de J. de J. bt. 20, 7.

**in(i)-?**

nitsínâχkâχkokaie *he has already given it to me* nbt. 187, 20.

inátsitomâtsou *then he went on another raid* nbt. 83, 17.

nitsínoxkokaie *he has already given it to me* nbt. 188, 5.

ómâχkkskimiks inâχkòtâχxpiau *what has been given to big rocks* nbt. 188, 12.

kímauksiniokaχks *why do you sleep?* obt. 45, 13.

itsiniânístutoyiuaiks *he did the same thing to them* nbt. 115, 4.

**inipit-** 1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb *to be cold, freeze*:

mínipitsiâu *they could stand much cold* (lit. *they were strong being cold*) nbt. 12, 17.

auotásaininipitsiu *the (people) cried for cold* nbt. 12, 20.

imátâχkanainèpitsiu (*the people*) *nearly all froze*.

2<sup>o</sup>. in composition with other verbs, and then it is sometimes almost a prefix:

itomátapenepitãxkumiua *he then started to cry as if he were cold.*

**ip-**. The form -ipi- also occurs (cf. ap-, tãm-), fortuitously just in cases where the first i- has disappeared, because of which some compounds are more or less difficult to analyse, e.g.:

aitspyómaxkàs *when he ran into the camp* nbt. 19, 2.  
 itspiuxtòm ápskotok *he put a white stone among them* nbt. 162, 28.

einí itámsokitspiàupiiu *they suddenly sat among the buffaloes* obt. 14, 20.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes *to enter*.

pík *come in!* nbt. 156, 32.

áupitsipmaie *she entered with it* nbt. 165, 26.

áupipmaie *she entered with it* nbt. 160, 9.

mátsitsitsipimats *she did not go in.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *in(to)*, *to*.

itsípinixtšluaie *he put him in (the pot).*

ixtsítsipsxpomaxkau *she followed* nbt. 110, 4.

aitspyómaxkàs *when he ran into the camp* nbt. 19, 2.

noxkítspistutsisau ákai-Pekàni *when they moved to the ancient Peigans* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 12.

3<sup>o</sup>. in combination with other prefixes:

a) very often with -ist-, e.g.: ipist-, ipst-, cf. ist-; nearly always with the meaning: *in(to)*, *within*:  
 anátsipstòmaxkàt *run in again* obt. 35, 25.

áipstomaxkàii *they then would start for a run* nbt. 41, 12.

áipstsokapistutsixp *it was fixed up inside* nbt. 53, 28.

áipstsiskapiau eínf *they would lead out the buffalo*  
nbt. 41, 13.

nitsítsipstauptázkòmaxk *I was running around inside*  
obt. 19, 1.

Here has to be mentioned the adverb pistóχts  
(ip-ist-oχts):

pistóχts ki sauá'χts *on the inside and the outside* obt.  
59, 9.

pistóχtsi *inside* nbt. 167, 12.

b) ip- combined with -ot-:

ipotóχtsim *near the door* nbt. 160, 9.

itsípotapiksistsiuaie *she threw him towards the door*  
nbt. 108, 4.

ipotóχtsiks *those standing in the lower part of the circle*  
nbt. 46, 4. Cf. akimóχtsiks *those at the upper end*  
nbt. 45, 24.

? misksíppotapòiau *they went in the opposite direction*  
nbt. 213, 21.

c) ip- combined with -ixk; nearly always adverb:  
píxkoχts *in front of (the first lodge)* obt. 59, 18.

áskχksaitsitaipuyiu píxkâχtsim nápioyis *he is always*  
*standing alone before the house.*

píxkoχtsim tázmitsoχkoχplinaí *it fell down near the*  
*door, just in front of it* nbt. 156, 26.

itsípíxkaipuyiu nápioyis = itsâχkáipuyiu nápioyis *he*  
*is standing before the house.* Cf. itsoχk-.

**ipistsik-** *a little, scarcely*; cf. aipistsik- (with the  
durative prefix ai-).

áipstsikâinoau *it is scarcely seen* nbt. 111, 36.

áipstsikaíszmspikâii *(the people) would rub them a little*  
(scil. *their knives*) nbt. 1, 26.

áksipstsikapauàkiaie *she would hit it (the tree) lightly*  
nbt. 10, 5.

nisótxmìpistsikitàupi *I stayed there a while* nbt. 230, 37.  
oápsp áipistsikasapìnai *he looked a little out of one of*  
*his eyes* nbt. 181, 15.

The combination with -s x m- is too frequent to need many examples:

aipstsíksisxzmòs *after a short while* nbt. 29, 16.

**ip(u)-** *standing, up*; see: *n i p u -*.

**is-** *ahead, in front*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itsisóiau *they went ahead* obt. 58, 19.

itáixtsisàuyi *then they came forward inside (of the circle)*  
nbt. 73, 13.

itsisó *he went ahead* obt. 53, 25.

itsíniso *he went down to* nbt. 79, 18.

itápauasainisòiau *they began to go about crying* nbt. 15, 16.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

otsísosxkàtsists *his front-legs*.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

itsísanistsiu *he said ahead* obt. 37, 2.

áiisapàsapìi *they went ahead to look about* nbt. 16, 16.

itsísomaxkàiau *they went ahead* nbt. 79, 10.

otsítsisxskunakàk *he was shot at from a distance by*  
*him* obt. 40, 6.

isátsit *look ahead* nbt. 75, 11.

otsítaiisipuyìmokaie *then she would stand in front of*  
*him* nbt. 198, 8.

N.B. the adverb isóxtsik *in the future* nbt. 51, 24;  
44, 8; 215, 12.

4°. is- combined with -so-(sui-) *near the shore*:  
 ómim áχkunitapisoàup *let us go over there near the*  
*shore* nbt. 103, 19.

Also as an independent adverb, e. g.: isoóχtsi *near the*  
*edge of the water* nbt. 74, 8.

N.B. potáni isoóχtsim *right near the fire* nbt. 153, 1;  
 cf. the two meanings of sui-.

1°. ist- *in(to)*.

matáistokitoàuat *he would not be shot through the*  
*body* nbt. 57, 22.

autómitsistaniàipiksim otsísts *(the people) first stuck their*  
*hands in (the snow)* nbt. 12, 10.

itsístàpiksiu *he ran into (a hole)* nbt. 189, 9.

áistáχkapiàiks *they crawled in* nbt. 195, 16.

itsístáχkapiixk *he then went in there (in a hole)* nbt.  
 195, 8. Cf. however st(aχt)-.

amóm atsiuáskui aitáχkz̄naistsokèkàm *all of them were*  
*camping in the forest there* nbt. 186, 2.

istsínoχtotàua *put them in (your beaver-rolls)* nbt. 99,  
 2; cf. however it(s)-.

A special meaning of ist(s)- is *in(to) the forest, the*  
*brushes*; perhaps we had better speak of a second  
 prefix ist(s)-. The examples are numerous (as well  
 of the independent as of the prefixed form):

itsístso *she went into the forest* nbt. 103, 15.

àitsistsó *he entered (a forest)* nbt. 195, 20.

otáistsìpiokaie *he was taken into the forest by her* nbt.  
 196, 27.

itsístsàpiksiu *they fled into the brush* nbt. 211, 13.

itsístsàupiu *he is sitting in (this bunch of timber)* nbt.  
 102, 28.



istsípiksiu *fled into the brushes* nbt. 213, 23.

2<sup>o</sup>. **ist-** *two*. The independent numeral is: *n a t o k a*.

nítsmistsitapiu *they were only two* nbt. 79, 9.

Cf. noxkátsistòkzmi *also two (horses)* nbt. 30, 17.

Properly we have to do with the compositional form of *n i s t -*; see there.

3<sup>o</sup>. **ist-**. A prefix to denote the superlative; usually combined with *- k a n a i -* (*- k a n a u -*), which standing by itself has the same function.

istómaxksim = kanáumaxksim *is the biggest (oldest) of all*.

In general, prefixed to *- k a n a i -*:

istoχkanáukapsiu *he is the worst of all*.

spóχtsim istoχkanáitapiua *all the people on high* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 9.

See: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.

**it(s)-**, see: *a i -*, *a u -*; and: Uhlenbeck, *Vormen van het Blackfoot* p. 35; *Some General Aspects* p. 49.

The meaning of *it(s) -* is: *in a certain place, at a certain moment, under certain circumstances*. So it often has a perfective character; e. g.:

Nápi itáiokau, niétzχtai itáiokau *Napi was sleeping, near a river he was sleeping* \*).

áutòsaie ákitanistsuaie *when she came back, he would say to her* nbt. 2, 1.

ki ítstuyiu *and then it was cold* nbt. 30, 22.

See also: nbt. 21, 6—26.

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\*) Uhlenbeck, *Festschrift Thomsen*, p. 75, Leipzig 1912.

In the 2 prs. sg. and plur. of the imperative *it(s)-* is changed into *ist(s)-*:

*istsínoxtotàua* put them in (your beaver-rolls) nbt. 99, 2; cf. however 1°. *ist(s)-*.

*annó stáupit* stay right here! nbt. 79, 26.

*ánistaupit* sit there obt. 15, 5.

*istsipít* then enter nbt. 75, 18.

Also twice in the conjunctive:

*istáupisi, saítáupisi* (you will know) if she is there or if she is not there nbt. 139, 28.

*stókamotspuxplis* if it goes straight up in the air nbt. 242, 28.

Remarkable is *it-* in verbal forms of the 1 prs. plur. inclusive to define the place where:

*itsipútsimaup* the Battle-coulee nbt. 1, 6.

Cf. also: *itsitáutòaie* then (the war-party) came near to nbt. 17, 1.

*otáitotoxsi'a* when he came to it nbt. 97, 13.

In combination with other prefixes *it(s)-* often has only an emphatic force. Hence one can find it more than once in one form: *itsítóxkitopiuaie okakíni* he lighted down on her back nbt. 100, 8.

Combinations as *itsit-*, *itsin-*, *itsoxk-*, *itoxk-*, *itap-*, *itxm-*, *itsip-*, a. o. are frequent:

*máxkitsitakaikamotàniaiks* that many of them might have escaped him nbt. 180, 29.

*ítskitapò* he then went back to nbt. 198, 15.

*nikáitaiksitoxkitsok aksín* I have slept on a bed.

*itxm-*, cf. *tαm-*, *s(o)tαm-*, *autαm-*.

**itoxk-** = *it-* + *ixk-* on (top); cf. *ixk-*:

*itoxkítaupiu* he sat on it obt. 55, 23.

itoχkítauaiaki *Strikes-on-top* (name of a woman).

itoχkítóχsinàmaχka *Takes-good-gun-on-top* (name of a man).

itoχkítsipuyiauaie *they stood on it* obt. 63, 6.

**itom-** = it- + om-; cf. aumatap-, omatap-.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

ítomo *he went first* obt. 5, 9.

omá itamóa *that leader* nbt. 23, 22.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

ítomaipiksiu *he struck first* nbt. 4, 23.

ítomauaiàki *Strikes-first* (name of a woman).

ítòmipùyiu *the first runner* nbt. 242, 7.

ítomápauàuaχkau *he was on the lead* nbt. 200, 7.

ítomainitsiaie *he kills him first*.

itom- always takes the first place in verbal forms, in contrast with two cognate prefixes: -ot-om-, and -at-om- (twice -otαm-):

atotámakutsisau *when they once start to boil* nbt. 25, 33.

atotámokoχpotàsi *when it snowed first in the fall* nbt. 7, 24.

matómautstuyiu *in the beginning of the winter* nbt. 7, 31.

matómsotsikat *you must slide first* obt. 47, 9.

áistαmatòmipiksiu *he takes the first strike* nbt. 242, 5.

moyísts mátotomoχkùksinim *he also first found out the lodges* nbt. 81, 7.

áistαmotomapaauaniu *he would be ahead and fly about* nbt. 96, 15.

áutomoauàkoaiau *they were chased first* nbt. 1, 23.

stámotomitàpuχpaipiu *he first jumped to* obt. 43, 11.

nítákotòmapiksistau *I shall throw it first* obt. 47, 28.

The question is, how these forms -otom-, -atom- and a third matom- (cf. 3<sup>o</sup>. mat-) are related to each other. Are the first two only compositional forms of matom- or stands -otom- by itself as one of the numerous combinations of prefixes with the element -ot-? See sub ot-.

1<sup>o</sup>. **itsin-** *all*.

áketsinixkaiaks *they were nearly all gone* nbt. 172, 7.  
itsitsinixkauaie *then (his earth) was all gone* nbt. 178, 28.

2<sup>o</sup>. **itsin-** *among*.

támitsinàpauàuaχkau otápi'sìsin *he then travelled about among the wolves* nbt. 117, 17.  
nimátaitinspaiksau *I am not with them* nbt. 175, 8.  
tsá kanistá pitsinapauàuaχkaχpa apí'siks *how did you come to travel about among the wolves?* nbt. 119, 24.  
ótsitsinauàuaχkàni ænník matápiin *(they saw) a person walking with (the wolves)* nbt. 119, 11.

**itsistoχk-**; serves to indicate that the subject of the verb is in a lying position; e. g.:

nitsitsistoχkaipuyi *I talk while lying*. See: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 59.

N.B. nitákitsts *I shall lie* nbt. 154, 22.

**itsoχk-, itsaχk-** *before, by*.

itsitsá'χkipuyiau *they stood in front of it* nbt. 22, 30.  
kemáuketsáχkapuixpuàuaisks == kimáukitsoχkaipuixpuauisks *why are you standing before (the hole)?* de J. de J. bt. 28, 15.

itsóχkopìu *he sat by (a creek)* obt. 20, 4.

**itsk-**. Perhaps = i t - s k - (cf. s k - *back*).

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

nitsf'tsko *I went on the prairie* (scil. from the river back) nbt. 218, 6.

áipitskòiau *they had got far on the prairie* nbt. 187, 8.

àitskó *he went on the prairie* nbt. 196, 18.

támoxtsitskòaie *he just went past them* nbt. 180, 13.

autsitskòaie *he went past them* nbt. 180, 12.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

a) with the meaning *on the prairie*:

aχkitskoxpitskitau *we shall leave (our game) out on the prairie* nbt. 109, 6.

itaúamistutsiu; áitsksistutsiu *then (the people) moved up on the prairie; (the people) had moved on the prairie* nbt. 14, 16.

b) combined with i x t - (- o χ t -) *past*:

támoxtsitskoxsokuyìnai *her tracks went past them* nbt. 147, 16.

ákoχtsitskixpiu *he will dance by* nbt. 141, 19.

ixtsitsitskokskasiuaiks *then he ran past them* nbt. 189, 13.

sotámoxtsitskokskasiuaie *he then just ran past him* nbt. 173, 17.

támāχkənoχtaitskokskasìnai *then they all ran past him* nbt. 207, 30.

c) forming the comparative:

itsitskaχsiu *it was better* (lit. *it was good past it*) obt. 33, 3.

There is also a form **utsitsk-**.

**kak-** *just, only*; a i - (a u -) is often infixed:

kakatósi *star* (lit. *just a sun?*).

káksistomiu *he was just naked* (lit. *he just had a body*)  
nbt. 45, 6.

kákitsinim *he just saw it* obt. 61, 22.

kaáuyi kaksáixtsis *that you are sticking out with your  
mouth only* obt. 52, 16.

kakókasatòminai *he just picked it up* obt. 9, 1.

kákoχpomòksakin *he just pressed it under his arm*  
obt. 9, 2.

kákitaixtsii *were just there* obt. 49, 20.

áikakauoyiu (*the people*) *only ate* nbt. 5, 17.

káukoχtòkiaiks *they had only their ears left* nbt. 18, 1.

áikaukoχtxskunàkiaue *he just shot with it* nbt. 183, 12.

kαm-, see i k α m - (1°. and 2°).

### kanai-, kan(au)- *all*.

1°. as an element of substantives:

kanáunistaxs *all the calves* obt. 20, 5.

spóχtsim istoχkanáitapiua *all the people on high* obt.  
68, n°. 9.

With the help of kanai- *each, all* distributive numerals are formed from the animate and the inanimate genders; their value is *one to each, two to each*, etc. (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 32).

2°. as a verbal prefix:

áukanaipímiau *they all came in* obt. 13, 1.

kanáisaièpitsiu *all of them tell lies* obt. 67, n°. 8.

kánistapiaùtomo *he was far ahead of the others* nbt.  
81, 5.

aukanáiksistsipuyisi *when all of them stood in a circle*  
nbt. 73, 13.

Often kan(a)i- is preceded by ix- (ixk-?) at

the beginning, by - o x - (- o x k - ?) in the interior of a compound:

kítóxkanòxkot *I give you all* obt. 11, 3.

otàxkánanik *all of them said to him* obt. 30, 21.

ixtsitàxkanauyiauaie *all of them ate* obt. 8, 1.

ki ámoistsi itxkánaisínikiu *and on these raids he each time counted a coup* nbt. 90, 14.

itá'xkánaitsoyàxsatau *all of them were yelled at* nbt. 72, 9.

Frequently kanai- is affixed to several words of the sentence for the sake of congruence:

kanáipim kanáiniua *all of the buffalo went in* nbt. 164, 23.

kanáitapíua támàxkánaisksinìm *then all the people knew it.*  
kxnáuxsoxsi nitá'xkxnaipuyiau *they were all standing behind* nbt. 72, 6.

About kx n(a i)- denoting a superlative, see 3<sup>o</sup>.  
i s t -.

# 1<sup>o</sup>. kat(ai)-.

a) a negative prefix:

katáimiks *Not-laughers* (name of a clan) obt. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 2.

kikátaukitskatàxpists *these that you did not vomit up* obt. 8, 11.

omá kxtáukemíua *the unmarried man.*

kxtaisokàsimi *No-coat* (name of a man).

kxtaukyàio *No-bear* (name of a man).

kxtáisepesto *No-owl* (name of a woman).

kxtáiataxsi (properly kxtáiiitaxsi) *No-really-good* (name of a man).

b) an interrogative prefix:

kikátainokixpa *did you see me?* obt. 59, 15.

kikáitaitàpixpa *don't you see something?* obt. 58, 26.

kikátaikimmoka *who does not pity you?* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 11.  
 kátauaniuats *is he used to tell?* obt. 17, 10.

2<sup>o</sup>. **kat(ai)-** *that is why; e. g.:*

kátaisàmiàua *that's why they wear the war-bonnet* nbt. 91, 8.

katsauáuiiau *that's why they don't eat* nbt. 174, 9.

ki autoiátsis kátoxtautoanisòyi'a *and that is why they use the forked stick as a cane* nbt. 91, 9.

kátaisàikimii *that's why they are short-furred* nbt. 191, 15.

kátautsinaiau *that's why they are fat* nbt. 174, 1.

**kixkixt-** *now and then, in different places.*

áikixkixtòpiu *(the war-party) would sit down now and then* nbt. 27, 5.

sotámitsikixkixtaukunàiiu *then (the people) camped in different places* nbt. 7, 30.

itsikixkixtaukunàiiu amó Pekániua, *this Peigan-tribe camped along in different places* nbt. 32, 5.

akâxtsíkixtsiksísau *(the buffalo) were running far* nbt. 166, 15.

itáikixkixtsòkau *then he would sleep at times* nbt. 192, 18.

**kip-** 1<sup>o</sup>. *for a moment:*

kipínisau(o)t *get off for a while* obt. 5, 16.

áχkipitoχpòksotsikau(o)p *let us slide together for a while* obt. 47, 2.

kipipúχsaput *come here for a while* obt. 47, 24.

túskau ákipoχpokòtsisop *only one time we shall smoke together for a while* nbt. 157, 3.

kipotónaukit *look for a while on my head for lice* nbt. 149, 22.

ákipsimiop *we will have a drink for a moment* nbt. 35, 21.



áχkunikìpstsimotsèiop *let us wrestle for a while* obt. 47, 17.

2<sup>o</sup>. *within a moment, soon*:

náχksikipinòaxs *that I may see him soon* nbt. 202, 19.  
kipánistsi *in a hurry!* (adverb belonging to the verb ánisttsiu *he does*).

kipátsàmit *soon hunt!* obt. 7, 16.

kipóχksistàuatomòkit *quickly raise him for me* obt. 25, 5.

anikípuχksìkiakòki *quickly make a trap for me* obt. 31, 14.

3<sup>o</sup>. *falsely, by accident*:

támikipaniu *then he falsely said* nbt. 145, 30.

aikípanistau *she was told it just for fun* nbt. 106, 10.

káχkipaχtoχpuau *I might shoot you by accident* nbt. 111, 4.

kitáikipan *you are fooling* nbt. 221, 16.

sá, kimátaikipanixpa *no, I don't fool* nbt. 221, 17.

N. B. kixpitsítakotòyinai *he was just about to get to*  
obt. 40, 9; perhaps we must analyse: ki i x p....

#### **kot-** *can*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

nitoχkót *I can*.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix:

mátatoχkòtskitsipìmats (*the buffalo*) *could not go back into* obt. 11, 20.

kimátoχkotsinikixpuaua *you can never kill me*.

mátoχkotsāχpauaniuatsiks *he could not get out of the water*.

#### **ksik-**

1<sup>o</sup>. *away, out*:

áuksiksísò *he had just gone out of sight* nbt. 196, 6.

sótæmiksikskàakaie *she then walked away from him* nbt. 168, 30.

otáistamiksikskàakaiks *they would just walk away from him* nbt. 169, 7.

itsáiksikāχpaipiñai *then she jumped out* nbt. 138, 18.  
ákoχtaksiksaumaχkàiinai *it would run out by (him)* nbt. 166, 14.

2<sup>o</sup>. **ksik-sk-** (with infixed -ai- becomes **kaiiksk-**) *on one side*. On account of this form with the infix, it is evident that **ksiksk-** is assibilated from **kiksk-**; cf. **ksist-** and **kaiist-**.

kaiíkskàtsuiaie *he went on one side of them* nbt. 180, 11.  
ksíkskoχt kénnauk itáíiskixtsiù *there on one side he hid himself lying low* nbt. 145, 32.

Cf. otsípsksistoxtsi *on one side (of them)* nbt. 79, 8.

**ksisap-** *down, to the river; from: ksis- + (t)ap-*.

ákitsiksisapistutsop *we shall move down over on (Little Creek)* nbt. 2, 25.

itáiksisapistutsiù *(the people) used to move down (to the river)* nbt. 37, 26.

Twice found as an independent verb:

áiksisapòiau *they went down alongside the river* nbt. 190, 1.

amóia einíua omoχtáiksisapòχp *where the buffalo would come down (to drink at the creek)* nbt. 140, 2.

**ksiskan-** *early:*

ksiskænépuaus *when they got up early* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

itapínako ksiskænáutunñi *then it was early in the morning* nbt. 27, 12.

1<sup>o</sup>. **ksist-** *done, complete.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itáiksistsiaiks *then they were completed* nbt. 9, 6.

otsóχsoaists áikâχkanaiksistsîi *their food would all be ready* nbt. 107, 15.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

tátsiksistokuyi *midnight*; cf. kokúyi *night*.

N.B. tátsikaiksistsikúyi *noon*; cf. ksistsikúyi *day*.

3<sup>o</sup>. as the usual prefix of the perfect tense, often combined with a kai-; see there.

âkatsitaiksistòpiu *he was already sitting down again* nbt. 185, 5.

áitsiksistapauyiuai'e'a *he had done eating* nbt. 98, 30.

áksistaiksistòsisop *we shall quit smoking* nbt. 157, 19.

itáiksistsìpoχksiaiks *they had done shedding their hair* nbt. 1, 11.

áiksistanistslàua *they had done this* nbt. 97, 16.

soťmiksistsipuyiàiks *then they stood in their places* nbt. 181, 2.

aukanáiksistsipuyîsi *when all of them stood in a circle* nbt. 73, 13.

áiksistapaiksistoχsoiau *they had done warming themselves* nbt. 23, 15.

itáiksistauaχkautseiau *then (the people) quit fighting* nbt. 21, 2.

támiksistsipaskau *then the people had done dancing* nbt. 73, 34.

áiksistapîmau *he had done making a lodge* nbt. 172, 14.

aiksistsínikinau *she had done skimming* nbt. 11, 16;

cf. nbt. 11, 21: nitsínikinàni *my soup of the leg-bones*.

2<sup>o</sup>. ksist-, ksistap- out of: ksist- + (t)ap-; with infixed -ai-, kaiist(ap)-.

10. as an independent verb:

nitsítsiksistapo *then I lost my way* nbt. 218, 18.

20. as an element of nominal forms *wild, false, of no account*.

ksistómita *wild dog*.

ksístoxpu's *wild cat* (pú'sa *cat*).

ksistápiapikoan *Dutchman* (lit. *false, or not real, white man*).

mátsiksistapitapiuats *he is not a person of no account*  
obt. 30, 17.

30. as a verbal prefix:

a) *for nothing, without purpose*:

ponoká'mita kaiístuitapuyiu *the horse is standing without use*.

nimátatsiksistoxkokinànats *they did not give us any more for nothing* nbt. 225, 5.

Cf. the adverb: ksistóxtsi *for nothing*.

b) *false(ly)*:

máuikaiksistàpanistsìuaie *why does he tell him something false?* nbt. 133, 10.

kitáiksistàpauàniksi *that you falsely said to me* nbt. 100, 18.

c) *to an unknown place*:

tákstxmiksistapanistapu *I shall go to an unknown place*  
nbt. 73, 41.

áksiksistàpanistapauop *we shall go somewhere to an unknown place* obt. 34, 9.

**ksistak-** *over, across*:

itsiksístakâxpaipìu *(the horse) jumped over him* nbt. 205, 16.

áistxmiksistakoxpaipiìnai *he would just jump over (the fire)* nbt. 176, 14.

ksistâkâpiksistsis pokúni niétaxtai *throw the ball across the river*.

**man-, manisk(s)-** *young, new(ly).*

Frequent as an element of nominal forms:

mánisksistxmiki *young buffalo-bulls* nbt. 189, 11.

manótapòtsists *the new pieces* obt. 7, 29.

ománokoauaiima *their new home.*

manókini *New-breast* (name of a man of the Fat-melter clan).

manáke *New-woman* nbt. 234, 36.

ománnòmi *her new husband* nbt. 94, 13.

manáisto *New-crow* (name of a man).

manákitapiua *the new-grown-up people.*

But also in verbal forms:

mánatáχkâpinausiks *(those) that had a new way of dressing* nbt. 73, 14.

mánokìmiua *he has a new lodge* nbt. 42, 28.

omá túkskxm manáukin mánoto *there was a young wolf* (lit. *a new-breast*) (that) had just come nbt. 117, 19.

**man(ist-),** *according to, in proportion to, how.*

1°. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

matsikióaists nitúyi xnistápii *their moccasins were of the same* nbt. 167, 7.

xnistápsin amóksisk mokákiapakèin *she was such as these (that are) wise women* nbt. 216, 27.

2°. as a verbal prefix; together with the interrogative particles tsá(a), etc. it is often found in questions: tsá tákanistsipixpa *how shall I enter?* nbt. 75, 16.

tsá kanistápæpauàuaχkaxp *what do you travel about for?* obt. 51, 26; cf. áχsa kímoztàpauàuaχkaxp *what do you walk for?* obt. 51, 4.

tsáa kanistápapauànixpa *what are you talking about?*  
obt. 18, 26.

tsá kanistápapaiàkstsimaχpa *how did you steer the  
ears of the lodge about?* nbt. 138, 14.

tsáχtau tákanistòχpaxtau *how shall I be able to go there?*  
nbt. 74, 16.

N.B. tsá áχkanistapsòp *what shall we be?* nbt. 111, 13.  
3<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix.

a) after demonstratives:

kénnyaie kanístòχkot *that way I give it to you* obt.  
59, 12.

ánni ná'χkanistáχtsimàtau *that way I heard about it*  
nbt. 84, 12.

ki ánnyaie kanístòχkòtoχpinan *and then this is all we  
have to give you* obt. 55, 10.

ánnyaie anistápitapíau *that kind of people they were all*  
nbt. 49, 26.

N.B. ánnáχkaie ánniànistápakeu nitoχpokáupimau,  
ánnaxkáie nimoxtákisini *such kind of woman I was  
living with, that I shall die through her* obt. 61, 31.

b) after n i t (u y i)- *the same*:

nitúyi matánistàutsim *in the same way he stuck arrows*  
nbt. 154, 9.

nitúyi ákanistaχsii *they were just as good* nbt. 51, 18.

nitúyi ixkánánistaikimatoχkoyìmi *they all suffered in  
the same way* nbt. 21, 26.

manistápomaχksípiau, nitópiiau *as they were big (i. e.  
according to their sizes) they sat* nbt. 110, 13.

N.B. imaksínakstsimiks anistátsokìnakii *even the young  
ones doctored* obt. 2, n<sup>0</sup>. 7.

c) to state a duration:

nanistsísamitòpixpi (3 months) *I stayed there.*

4<sup>0</sup>. as a relative verbal prefix to form distributive

numerals, which, in the same way as the ordinal numbers, have the ending -pi in the animate, and -χpi in the inanimate gender (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 32); also with nouns:

ánnistəpinàkuists mánistoχkòkaie *every morning he would give him* nbt. 78, 5.

anistsíkokuists *every night* nbt. 107, 19.

anistsíksistsikuists áisamìxk *he hunted every day* obt. 23, 5.

5<sup>o</sup>. as a correlative prefix:

manistsínomàtapuxs tzmanistsìppiautomò *when they had started down, he was far ahead of the others* nbt. 81, 16.

manistápikauaχkùskoχpi, ixtáuanistəpauàuaχkaiau *where the coulees were about, they went that way* nbt. 16, 17.

manistótaspinan, ánni nanistáitəskiməχpinan *as we owned horses separately, so we drove them separately* nbt. 223, 26.

6<sup>o</sup>. prefixed to verbal forms ending in -pi, to form relative clauses.

manistəpakanəpixpi *where they were hidden from view* nbt. 16, 14.

annóm Pekániuə mátsitstsìxp áχssi manistáχsp Okoésau *of these Peigans there was none as good as Belly-fat* obt. 33, 2.

kətánistàiaχsp àké *there was no such fine-looking woman* nbt. 168, 27.

anistáinauspi *the way he dressed* nbt. 85, 6.

manistáuauaχkautsìxp *how they fought in war* nbt. 1, 4.

maniststokimixp *because the water was so cold* nbt. 23, 12.

manistápiszmistuyixp *as it was far in the winter* nbt. 13, 9.

7°. with the conjunctive:

manístsapsi *when he looked* nbt. 87, 11.

omá Mékyäksiua anístã̃kiã̃piksatã̃s amóm mistsíszm *every time Red-scar butted that tree* obt. 17, 13.

manistsínomã̃tapuxs *when they had started down* nbt. 81, 15.

8°. to emphasize other prefixes, e.g. kak-, moxt-, nit-, nit-oxk-, ok- (cf. akai-), etc.:

okánistauamotsixpi *they still invite each other* nbt. 54, 18.

okánistaixtsixpi *they are still there* nbt. 54, 19.

okánistaiaxkĩtspiaie *it was still smoking* obt. 19, 15.

okánistaixtsixp (*his lodge*) *was still there* nbt. 153, 26.

okánistaiixtsixpiaiks *they were still there* obt. 64, 14.

áitanistutsinaiau *they were fut like (dog-ribs)* nbt. 6, 27.

mátsikakanistapoxkyakanapiua akópists *one never turned his head away from the soup* nbt. 7, 15.

aiisoĩsts kákanistauaiĩtsistã̃nim *he just cut the meat down to the ends of the boss-ribs* nbt. 25, 22.

nímoxtanistã̃pauã̃uãxk *therefore I am travelling* nbt. 76, 22.

Ponákiksi ã̃nyaie nitó̃xkanistoxtaikã̃kimau *it is Cut-bank river, where they always cut lodge-poles from* nbt. 7, 7.

1°. mat(s)- is a negative prefix, which in certain cases is replaced by sau-(sai-) and kxtai- (see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 38—41). It always stands in the first place, only the personal prefixes precede.

mã̃tsisãmóã̃ *after a short while* nbt. 73, 10.



matspiotoisìuaiks *they did not go far for picking berries*  
nbt. 6, 15.

mátòχkusksinoàuats *he was not known* nbt. 74, 2.

2<sup>o</sup>. **mat(s)**- *again, another, too.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal and pronominal forms  
omá mâtstsiki *that is another one.*

kókit matoχkós = matoχkókit kós *give me another cup.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *again, also:*

mátsitoχkanitàutaiπiu *all the people also ran up to him*  
nbt. 81, 1.

matótsiminai *he took it also* nbt. 80, 27.

mátaisaiπiñ *he too went stretching* obt. 43, 9.

nítúyi mátanistsiu *he did it the same* obt. 16, 1.

mátàχkanàukapsiixkiau *they were also all bad* obt. 3,  
n<sup>o</sup>. 11.

itámsokàtsinoyiu *he suddenly saw again (a person)* obt.  
47, 15.

átsiszmò *again after a long while* obt. 15, 27.

mátsipiskiop *they had another buffalo-corralling* obt. 18, 11.

otátanikaie *he was again told by him* nbt. 75, 7.

támsatòkau *then he slept again* nbt. 74, 18.

átomatapàpaskunakataiau *they commenced again to be*  
*shot* nbt. 6, 26.

motúinaiks matàχtsínixkàsímiau *they got All-chiefs as*  
*another name* obt. 2, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

kikátòχkoχkemi *you got another wife* obt. 38, 19.

ákatoχkoχkemìnai *he has got another wife* obt. 38, 16.

sotámatòχkuikaχtsiau *then they had another game* nbt. 35, 1.

matsiskót *go back again* obt. 56, 5.

N.B. The combination of this *mat*- with a negative  
prefix is best rendered by *not any more* or *no more*:

mátatsitapiuasiusinai *he was not living any more* nbt. 79, 4.

mátatsikopumats; mátatoχkòtskitsipì mats *he was not afraid any more; (the buffalo) could not go back into (the lake) any more* obt. 11, 24 and 20.

3<sup>0</sup>. In many cases we might neglect *ma t(s)-* in the translation, its meaning being very much weakened: *ánnistsiaie matoχtáinauàsiu from those (coups) (too) he became a chief* nbt. 83, 22.

*áχkoχkatsitsìnoau that we can see them (too)* nbt. 73, 11.  
*mánatáχkàpinausiks (those) that had (also) a new way of dressing* nbt. 73, 14.

*noχkáztoχskunàkàtsìuaie he (too) shot him with it* nbt. 80, 14.

*atáksamìixk he was going to hunt again* obt. 23, 6.

*mátatapistutsìuaiks they did not move about (any more)* nbt. 5, 16.

*mátatoχkapitsixtáuats then there was nothing to think about (any more)* nbt. 9, 7.

Especially in connection with *sk - back*:

*nitàistzmatksinisaχpinan we go right back down* nbt. 240, 9.

*matsksápoχpiik fall back in the same place!*

*mátsitskòmaχkaiau they ran back again* nbt. 79, 12.

In the same way:

*omátsitotoχsaie when he came back to her* (cf. *uχs-back*).

3<sup>0</sup>. **mat-** = **omat-**; cf. *a u m a t a p -*.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

*otsitàkomatoχp that they will start* nbt. 77, 6.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix. The form *ma t-* only occurs at the beginning of imperative forms.

*itomátsàmiu then (the people) went on a hunt* nbt. 3, 5.

mátsekakomatoχpatskoyluats *he could not fell it by kicking it* nbt. 101, 1.

stámomatauanu *he then started to fly away.*

matánistsis *go and tell!* nbt. 100, 33.

matásiststot *take and wash it!* nbt. 2, 1.

matótakos *go and give him a drink* obt. 33, 16.

matsáiakstsit *go out and steer!* obt. 19, 14.

matótos *go and take him!* nbt. 9, 22.

mátotχkotatsístatos *go and persuade him* nbt. 9, 7.

N.B. matúiszmis *go and see it (an.)* obt. 37, 38.

### **mauk- why?**

The forms of the 2 prs. end in -s, -sks, -(χ)ks; those of the first and third persons have no particular ending.

kimáuksēsāps *why did you look out?* nbt. 132, 10.

kímaukanisks *why did you say (that)?* obt. 42, 12.

kímauksipisks *why did you come in?* obt. 45, 4.

kímauksiniðkaχks *why do you sleep?* obt. 45, 13.

kimáukaχskχsàipisks *why do you always come in?* obt. 56, 24.

kímauksàuoχtauisks *why don't you eat from?* obt. 7, 3.

kimáuksotχmauànisks *why do you say that?* obt. 14, 11.

kimáukitspiaistχmiskòkixpuàiisks àkssís *why do you give me then to eat (meat) with round fat (fat of the guts)* obt. 41, 29; obt. 44, 12.

kímaukstχmitàutsipuyisks anníksi osákiks *why do you just stand by those pieces of back-fat?* obt. 42, 24.

kimáukauasàinisks *why do you weep?* obt. 50, 15.

kimáuksauχkaipχskaχks *why don't you go and dance?* nbt. 73, 4.

kímaukàtoχkiskataisks natséks *why do you have my leggings for pillow?*

kimaukstámitokyàupimáχks *what is the reason you are making one shelter after another?*

máukaniu *why did he say?* obt. 27, 12.

nímauksauanists *why did not I do it thus?*

N. B. kimáúmaiszmitapínakuyiks *why were you seen about during such a long time?* obt. 36, 25.

kimáúmaisoχkanisks *why do you say (that) aloud?* obt. 41, 31.

**mi-** *strong(ly).*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

myápakèks *careful* (lit. *hard*) *women* nbt. 7, 18.

míkoχponìks ótàsìks *their long-winded* (lit. *hard-winded*) *horses* nbt. 16, 11.

miikítapì *brave men* nbt. 16, 15.

2<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb:

otáìisau *because they were hard* nbt. 223, 33.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

mínipitsiàu *they could stand much cold* (lit. *they were strong being cold*) nbt. 12, 17.

mískapiu *he is strong.*

miauánsakit *cook them hard!* nbt. 133, 30.

mátóxtaìopimiskàupiau *they were also made into hard ropes* nbt. 6, 9.

**misk(s)-, mi(s)ksk-, mikskaxtsiu-, -ksk-** *instead, notwithstanding, opposite.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

mískkapayini *biscuit* (lit. *instead of bread, napayíni*).

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

miskskítomatò *then (the war-party) went instead (of going in day-time)* nbt. 27, 4.

miskáístzmopakiau *they moved notwithstanding (the cold)* nbt. 12, 20.

miskskúmaiikòtsisiu *he smoked harder* obt. 28, 11.

sotámisketàkaupiau *then instead of running off they sat down* nbt. 214, 25.

misksíppotapòiau *they went in the opposite direction* nbt. 213, 21.

miskátsáksist *you had better go out* obt. 45, 6.

mískstzmamiàpiksatsiuaie *he jumped at him in spite (of his shooting)* nbt. 17, 14.

miskskítsinisokotàixk *nevertheless she spat at him* obt. 16, 15.

miskítskunakatsiua *he shot it (an.) in spite of (his partner who forbade him)* nbt. 158, 17.

miskskxχtsiuaumatò *he went instead.*

nitákskoχpùmmatop *I shall buy it instead.*

**min-** see: p i n -.

**(m)ist(ap)-** *away.* The simple form (m)ist(s)- also occurs, so we have here a compound of mist- t a p (o) -.

1°. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

támistapòiau *then they went away* nbt. 79, 22.

aχkúnistapàuop *let us go away* nbt. 113, 8.

2°. as a verbal prefix *away, on one side*; cf. paχk- (4b):  
áutsistapskàpiu *it was afternoon* nbt. 146, 19.

ænistápapiksit *throw it on one side.*

itsístsipuxtuuiuaie otoχkémaniaii *he ran away with that other's wife* obt. 1, 11.

itsístapukskàsiau *they ran away* nbt. 213, 16.

íkaistapotoyìnai *he had already taken away* nbt. 161, 8.

ixtsístapinok`ãmitaisko *they are from those horses* nbt. 209, 19.

stázmistapomaxkàiinai *he then ran off* obt. 20, 13.

áiistapuxpàpiksìnai *then he was jumping away from him* nbt. 80, 13.

3<sup>o</sup>. almost without a sharply distinguished meaning it serves to emphasize other prefixes; especially often it is combined with saksíu *to go out*:

stázmistapsaksíu *then she went out* obt. 6, 20.

místxpsaksíst *go outside* obt. 6, 18.

místxpsàksík *go out* obt. 43, 21.

nisótzmoxtsístapamitoxpínan *then we went higher up* nbt. 229, 32.

místxpukitòxts *on the other side of a hill (or a mountain)* nbt. 234, 7 (adverb).

místxpamitoxts *higher up* nbt. 231, 12 (adverb).

místaputamìnasoxtsi *on the other side of a hill (or a mountain)* obt. 51, 29; obt. 52, 12 (adverb).

místxpupxmoxtsi *on the other side (of a water)* nbt. 218, 17 (adverb).

There are some questionable forms, which I will place here:

kóniskuyì ákoxkanistapainokatòm (*the war-party*) *would clear the snow* nbt. 27, 10.

tzmátáuatomaists; tzmístsístamaists *then he ate them; then he ate them up* nbt. 178, 15.

itsístsapomàxk *it would not go straight* nbt. 227, 22.

**mokam-**, see: 2<sup>o</sup>. i k x m -.

**mokak-** *wise, careful.*

mokákit *be careful* nbt. 28, 1.

itáikokakíu *then (the people) was very careful* nbt. 15, 11.

mokákiáke *the wise woman* nbt. 101, 5.

Enlisted for the sake of analogy though for the moment I have no examples of its use as a verbal prefix.

**mozk-**, cf. **ixk-**.

Rarely noted in this full form:

nímoxksksinoau *I know of (Belly-fat)* obt. 34, 11.

Cf. ixksksinoau *he knows about them* nbt. 43, 22.

**mozp-**. Properly speaking **mozp-** is a hypothetical form; only **-ozp-** is taken down, so we can not decide whether we have to do with a compositional form of **ixp-** or of **mozp-**:

támozpsáksiuais *then he went out with them* (scil. *those hoofs*) nbt. 207, 2.

tsánistapi kitákozpakitopixpa *what is it you will ride with?* obt. 1, 4.

N.B. áupipimaie *she entered with it* nbt. 160, 9 (perhaps a secondary form without **χ**).

**mozt-**, **māzt-**, **-ozt-**, **-zt-**; cf. **ixt-**.

1°. with a local meaning *along, from, of*:

ákozmtamitapaukèkaup *we shall camp about along the river* nbt. 6, 23.

sákiāztauāuazkau *he was still walking along (that river)* nbt. 170, 5.

ákaztaszmiuāie *(the war-party) would look at him from (where they sat)* nbt. 29, 20.

itámsokoztāsaininai *something suddenly cried from (the water)* obt. 37, 12.

ákoxtsikàkimaup *we shall cut our lodge-poles from (Cut-bank river) nbt. 7, 1.*

stámoxtsoyiú *then he ate of (the black alcali) obt. 6, 26.*

mátóxtsoyiauaists *they did not eat of them obt. 7, 29.*

nitáxtáuyiauaists *they ate of them alone obt. 7, 28.*

mátóxtsitsisoyiú *he gave them again to eat of (those last pieces) obt. 8, 3.*

kímoxtotám *I invited you to take one of them nbt. 76, 8.*

támoxtapauàuaɣkau *he then walked along nbt. 79, 8.*

ánnóɣk kímáxtsinixp nokóai *now that you have seen my lodge obt. 59, 7 (here the prefix has a temporal meaning).*

áistámoxtotoɣkxnánotataiau *they were all skinned from the back down nbt. 1, 28.*

amók nimóxtóto *over that way I came nbt. 81, 13.*

sótámoxtapauàuaɣkau *he went travelling along about nbt. 98, 26.*

2<sup>o</sup>. *for, on account of:*

ámoksaxks nitsímoxtsinèts *for these I was nearly drowned obt. 65, 4.*

ánnistsiaie matoxtáinauàsiu *from those (coups) too he became a chief nbt. 83, 22.*

má'xtstuyisop *we are ashamed of him obt. 9, 9.*

nímoxtstuyis *I am ashamed of (what that woman said) obt. 50, 16.*

nímoxtsipi *I entered on account of obt. 18, 20.*

áɣsa kímóxtápauàuaɣkaxp *what do you walk for? obt. 51, 4.*

ánnixkaie nímoxtsisàms *that's why I stayed a long time obt. 36, 29.*

nimóxtápo *I am going for (my scar) obt. 51, 6.*

áɣsa kímáxtáimixpuai *why are you laughing? obt. 66, 1.*



nimãχtáimixpinan *we are laughing at (him)* obt. 66, 3.  
 nímox̄taistunndanàni *we are afraid of (wolverines)* obt.  
 61, 34.

nímox̄tanistâpauâuaχk *I am travelling for (my poverty)*  
 nbt. 76, 22.

3°. denoting instrumentality:

ákoχtsitaplop *we shall live by means of (him)* obt. 37, 15.  
 ánni ákakχtsinitsiuaiks *he would just kill them with  
 that* nbt. 56, 17.

nímox̄táksini *I shall die through (her)* obt. 61, 32.

nãχtsip̄zχpákixpa *with (which) shall I brush?* obt.  
 33, 28.

ákoχtaiiniu *(the buffalo) will die by (flints)* obt. 12, 1.

ákoχtaiñtau *(the buffalo) will be skinned with (flints)*  
 obt. 12, 2.

kímox̄tsitsiksiskaxkòki *you then touched me with (your  
 arrow)* obt. 19, 2.

### (m)ot(ui)-.

1°. as an element of nominal forms:

motaiã'χke *ocean* (lit. *all-over-water*).

motómaχksikimi *everywhere-lakes; lakes-all-over*.

2°. as a verbal prefix.

a) *all, every*:

motúiekàkimàk *try hard, all of you* nbt. 210, 3.

áumotapàistutsìminai *she did everything she could* obt.  
 19, 12.

sotzmótèpuyiu *then all of them stood about* nbt.  
 207, 5.

nimótsipitâkeixpinan *we are all old women* obt. 41, 25.

b) *very, in all respects, every bit*; especially combined  
 with -s a p- to express the idea of *imitation*:

nistói nitotúisapinausiu *she dressed like me* nbt. 75, 25.

itáitotl̄isapināusiau *they dressed like (their lovers)* nbt. 72, 2.

stotūisapināusòkiau *that they were imitated in dressing (by the women)* nbt. 72, 8.

maχkaitotuisapināus *that they must dress like (their lovers)* nbt. 72, 23.

tzmótuikzmikūnamaiaiu *then they began to make roasts in a hurry* nbt. 24, 15.

c) *all over*; cf. a m o t a p - :

mótapomaxkài *they were running all over* nbt. 226, 1.

mótuixtsii m̄ksiniks *the carcasses were scattered all over* nbt. 3, 7.

imitáiks mótuiaioi *the dogs howled all over* nbt. 132, 6.

aistzmótosikskiu *he blacked his face all over* nbt. 18, 11.

1<sup>o</sup>. **nam-** *east(ward)*.

pináminakatòk *do not roll it eastward* obt. 27, 10.

aχkstáminakətaxs *that we should not roll it eastward* obt. 27, 12.

aiámistsipatakayayln *he was running east* nbt. 66, 6.

Adverb: námists *on the eastside*.

2<sup>o</sup>. **nam-** *only, just*. See the numerals (Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 33).

namítsitapiāu *they were just lonely people* obt. 23, 4.

nitszmistsitapiāu *they were only two* nbt. 79, 9.

namóχkitàisaièpitsit *you can just tell lies* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

namóχkitàipuyit *you just can talk* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

námipaupl̄inai *then she sat just up* obt. 27, 1.

námapikauaniàiks *they just shook their legs* nbt. 111, 5.

**nano-, nanau-, nanai-** *finally*:

nánayitautòyinai *he got there finally* obt. 23, 16.

áinoãχkonoyiu einí (*the people*) finally found the buffalo  
nbt. 15, 1.

nánauaiksistotsisiua *he ended his smoking.*

nánauauanikaie finally he was told by (him) nbt. 78, 8.

nánauaitapðaie *he went finally* obt. 47, 8.

nánauauàtsistotoyiuaie *he finally persuaded him* obt.  
26, 7.

nánoaikòko finally it was night nbt. 30, 28.

otáipzχksìmisaiie, nánoatoχtáinixkataiau *because they  
smelt bad, (from that) they were finally called (Skunks)*  
obt. 3, 23.

nánoainitsiu *he finally killed her* obt. 28, 12.

**nap-** see n i p u -.

**1<sup>o</sup>. nats-** last, farthest.

Also used as ordinal numeral, scil. nátsauχts *the last.*

As a prefix :

nátsaupiu tómoχkotauaists *they were given to the last  
one (the man sitting on the end)* nbt. 26, 5.

As an adverb: ki omí nátsauχts *and over there on the  
farthest end* nbt. 181, 14.

**2<sup>o</sup>. nat(s)-** just:

ninátzsau *I am just wiping him* nbt. 129, 18.

nátãχtanists (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14 interprets:  
(ni)nátõχtanists(i)) *therefore I am just doing it* de J.  
de J. bt. 22, 7.

kenátãχkanist (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14: ki-nát-  
oχk-anist) *I will just tell you* de J. de J. bt. 22, 1.

kenátãχkànästo (Uhlenbeck, ibid. p. 32: ki-nát-oχk-  
anisto) *I will just tell you* de J. de J. bt. 53, 21.

**nim-** *west*:

itsímszpiu *he looked west* nbt. 66, 5.

As an independent adverb: nímists.

**nipu-** *standing, up*; see: i p u -, and n a p -.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

áipuaú *she got up* nbt. 100, 29.

itsipúau *he stood up* nbt. 83, 7.

itáipuyiu *he stands there*.

nipuáut *get up!*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix, sometimes modified by the old Algonquian „change” and by reduplication (see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 59 sqq.):

itsipúsapiu *then he looked up* nbt. 74, 15.

aipókoyis *when his lodge was finished* (lit. *was standing up*) nbt. 42, 25.

nipúisoyàuanit *jump up!* nbt. 156, 3.

nipúzpaipiit *jump up!* obt. 40, 9.

áitsipàipuyiu *he was standing up alone* nbt. 169, 10.

áksipuyimikiä`χsataiau *we shall push the grass up* nbt. 127, 4.

ixtsitáipuimikiàkiua *he pushed the grass up with (the lodge-pole)* nbt. 127, 7.

itsipúisuiàuanu *he jumped up (from his bed)* nbt. 199, 22.

nitapáipuxpàipiiau *they jumped up at the same time* nbt. 39, 21.

nápaipuyiu *he talks while standing*.

nápopuyisimiu *he drinks while standing*.

nitsipáisinaki *I write while standing*.

**nist-** *two*; see: - i s t -.

**nit(s)-, nitap-, nitui-, nito-** *one*; cf. the cardinal numeral *nitúkska*. It is not difficult to understand the rather differentiated functions of *nit(s)-* etc. out of this fundamental meaning.

1°. *alone, only*:

*annóχk áskχsaitsitàupop* now we are always living here alone nbt. 106, 2.

*nitoχkémiu* he had one wife obt. 13, 23.

*ki áitsitapainauàsiu* and he became the only chief nbt. 84, 9.

*nitáinitsiu* (the people) only killed (those) nbt. 40, 8.

*nitáχtáuyiauaists* they ate of them alone obt. 7, 28.

*áistsmitsitapaukunaiixk* he camped about alone nbt. 123, 2.

*nitsísoyisoau* he is fed with only four things nbt. 2, 14.

*nitszmistsitapiáu* they were only two nbt. 79, 9.

*áitsauaipzskaii* they were the only ones that did not dance nbt. 73, 1.

*kitáitsauàipzsk* you are the only one that does not dance nbt. 73, 7.

*imakétokuyitoχkònimàsau* if they find only one hair obt. 19, 27.

2°. Semantically most akin to the meaning *one* is that of *the same, alike*. The independent adverb *nitúyi* is met with:

*nitúyi nitáχsii* (their things) were fine the same nbt. 167, 14.

*nitúyi nitáixtsau* she is laid down in the same way nbt. 54, 3.

Often *nit(s)-*, etc. is combined with (m)anist- (which in many cases has a similar function) or with (m)ot-. See *manist-* and *mot-*.

*áitanistsinatsiaists* they looked like nbt. 20, 5; cf. *ánni*

nitoápiksimàists *this way they threw them* nbt. 34, 12.

itsitótosapinausìnai *she dressed like him* nbt. 85, 6.

itáitotùisapinàusiau *they dressed alike* nbt. 72, 2.

nitúianistzpsi *they are the same* nbt. 53, 21.

áitanistutsinaiau *they were fat like (dog-ribs)* nbt. 6, 27.

áitanistsiàiks ánni àipozxpokúyi *they would be like as if their hair were brushed* nbt. 8, 12.

nítanistsinatsiau ánni áskàkzkuyi *they looked like a short-back butte* nbt. 24, 17.

The meaning *at the same time* belongs here:

nítózpiksistazkùmìuaie *he shot at the same time with him* obt. 30, 30.

ki nitapáipuzxpàipiiau *and they jumped up at the same time* nbt. 39, 21.

3<sup>o</sup>. Derived from the meaning sub 1<sup>o</sup>. *only, alone* is that of *real*:

nitápskinetsimàni *the real sacks* nbt. 2, 20.

áitapsuiniisì *when it was real warm weather* nbt. 12, 22.

nínitsàpixpinan *we really saw* nbt. 28, 17.

nitápoauàpozsiaiu *(their horses) were really fat* nbt. 1, 10.

nitápipitākèsin *the state of being a real old woman.*

kanáitsitapiua *all Indians* (lit. *all the real people*) obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

4<sup>o</sup>. *always, still*:

kinétozkanistozkot *I still give you* nbt. 28, 3.

kinétozkanistaiākàinoàu *you will always see him* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 8.

ánnyaie nitózkanistoztaikàkimau *there it is they always cut lodge-poles from* nbt. 7, 7.

áistzmitapotsìminai *he would always swim to (the beaver-den)* nbt. 75, 4.

For the combination nit-oχk-anist- cf. akai-(2 c).

5<sup>0</sup>. emphasizing; best rendered by *self*:

áitsitsòyāχsiu *all of them yelled* nbt. 79, 32.

áitaxpùimiau *their bodies were oily* nbt. 1, 24.

nitsitótòae *he walked right up to him* nbt. 80, 13.

nistóa nitákotomitāpamiso *I shall go up there first* nbt. 168, 14.

nítaxtsakoāumaxkau *he was the last one running* obt. 16, 11.

nítsisχmauāksiksísau *(the buffalo-herd) had made a long run around* obt. 16, 19.

nínitapātau *I was the last one* nbt. 232, 22.

noχketsítotoiau *they came at last there* nbt. 173, 21.

**nāχk-, noχk-** *to be sure, it is true, though.*

1<sup>0</sup>. prefixed to imperative forms, to mitigate the command:

noχkátsimāt *give an invitation!* nbt. 2, 16.

nāχksísokik *give me to eat!* obt. 38, 34.

noχksikímmokit *pity me!* obt. 68, n<sup>0</sup>. 10.

noχkóχtokit *hear me!* obt. 68, n<sup>0</sup>. 10.

noχkspúmmokit *help me!* obt. 68, n<sup>0</sup>. 10.

nāχksíkiakiatskòkit *make me a trap!* nbt. 161, 30.

2<sup>0</sup>. after interrogative particles:

tsá kinā'χkanistapsp *which kind of being are you?* obt. 7, 1.

tsimá kinā'χkitapaiitapiixp *where are you roaming about?* obt. 8, 18.

nāχkátóχtāpoyiskòā *(which way) are there any more lodges?* obt. 44, 1.

kinā'χkakimmok *(which of these your children) pities you?* obt. 41, 7.

nāχkāitapðaxtau (*where*) *is she going to?* obt. 62, 17.  
 noχkātoyisko (*where*) *are there more lodges?* obt. 46, 28.  
 noχkoχtāpitapiskoa (*which way*) *are there any people?*  
 obt. 41, 17.

3°. Combined with prefixes, mitigating their strict meaning:

a) with nit- *only*:

noχkitāutsinaiau (*there*) *is the only place they have fat*  
 nbt. 174, 8.

b) with (m)anist-:

ninā'χkanistāχtsimātaxpi *the way I heard about them*  
 nbt. 1, 6.

ninā'χkanistsksinoau *what I know about them* nbt. 169, 19.

ninā'χkanistsksinoaiu (*that is all*) *I know about them*  
 nbt. 111, 39.

c) with (m)at- *also, the same*:

noχkātāχkxnāisoo *they came also all to the shore of the*  
*river* nbt. 79, 20.

nāχkātakapinausiu *whoever has a new way of dressing*  
 nbt. 73, 11.

āχkoχkatsitsinoau *that we can see them* nbt. 73, 11.

noχkātōχskunakatsiuaie *he shot him with it* nbt. 80, 14.

noχkātsistokxmi *he had also two*.

nāχkātanistsinokētakiu *he the same was very glad* nbt.  
 144, 14.

d) after demonstratives; cf. sub b:

ānni nā'χkanistāχtsimātau *that way I heard about it*  
 nbt. 84, 12.

kēnniaie nā'χkokamāatsimaie *that one was her lover*  
 nbt. 73, 33.

ānniaie kinōχkopāu *I give her to you in payment* nbt.  
 82, 28.

e) with kanai- (see kanai- 2°).



4<sup>0</sup>. in general as an expression of doubt and caution:  
kamóχkitstsixki *there might be some one* nbt. 73, 4.

ánnoχka pžskàuki, nitákoχksipžsk *now when we have  
a dance, I shall dance* nbt. 73, 9.

ninã'χkainoki *they can see me* obt. 66, n<sup>0</sup>. 4.

mátãχksipìdats *he did not go far* nbt. 185, 3.

nenã'χksəpapàuk *it is true, I had a dream* de J. de J.  
bt. 44, 1 (Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 27: „ninóχksi-  
papauk. The prefix n o χ k (s) (i) - is often conces-  
sive and then it might be rendered in German by  
„freilich”).

kenátãχkanist *I will just tell you* de J. de J. bt. 22, 1.  
(Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 14: The value of -oχk-  
(= n o χ k -) in this form is concessive, wherefore  
I rendered it by „will”).

**noχkets(i)-, noχkits(i)-** different.

1) in nominal forms:

noχkétsitapì *the enemy* nbt. 79, 20.

2) as a verbal prefix:

noχkétsipuyiau *they stood separately* nbt. 181, 7.

noχketsítotoiau *they came there at last* nbt. 173, 21.

**omat-**, see 3<sup>0</sup>. m a t -.

**omoi-** together:

itomoóyi Mátokeks *the Women-society gathered* nbt.  
19, 6 (independent verb).

kákskapaumoàikinau *he just went back gathering them  
up* nbt. 179, 28.

áumoiiskapàtsiu *he pulled them together* nbt. 111, 1.

**omoχt-**, see: m o χ t -. O m o χ t - is formed by means

of the personal prefix o- about which Uhlenbeck, (Some General Aspects p. 50) says: „The prefix o- (ot-, otoχ-, ots-, otsi-) is used to indicate the 4 prs. in centripetal forms, but in the conjunctive it also often denotes the subject of the 3 prs.”

Examples:

omãχtã'χpauànis *that (the buffalo) were jumping off* obt. 13, 21.

ómãχtãkoχkùienixpì *what he will die with* obt. 17, 10.

ómaxtauàuaχkaxp *where they used to go* obt. 25, 18.

ómaxtaksisapsìmixpi *where (the buffalo) used to drink* obt. 20, 3.

ómaxtapìtsikìmaxpi *the direction she was in* obt. 9, 14.

ómãχtoχpi *the way they went* obt. 11, 18.

ómãχtsipàskaçàni *that she danced for* nbt. 73, 31.

ómaxtapàutamiskapi *where he rises* obt. 51, 2.

ãχkéyi omoxtãutsisaie *that he was swimming in the water* nbt. 75, 2.

omãχtãuyospists *the things they cooked with* nbt. 1, 2.

ómãχtapakièpi *where there were many (buffalo)* nbt. 15, 3.

### opit-, apit-.

1°. as an independent verb, i. e. followed only by verbalizing suffixes or incorporated nouns = *to loose*:

áikaxkapitsuaie *he cut (the horse) loose* nbt. 30, 12.

otápitotoksksaùaiks *they peeled the bark from them* nbt. 10, 17.

ákitaupitotoksksiaie *she would knock off the bark of it* nbt. 10, 4.

manistsíkaxχkapitzkixpiau *how they cut loose the horses* nbt. 32, 25.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a modifying prefix, usually combined with other prefixes:

aupitsískapxtx̣s *when he was pulled ashore* nbt. 192, 36.

a) combined with -so- *ashore, from the fire*; see sui-, so-:

ákitopitsosimàie *then she would pull it from the fire* nbt. 11, 11.

áupitsòtsimiau *they pulled it ashore* nbt. 23, 13.

itopítsotoyḷuaiks *he pulled them from the fire* nbt. 175, 15.

b) with is-(s)o-:

sótzṃapitsisò *I then went ashore* nbt. 219, 12.

sótzṃopitsisoo *then she went ashore* nbt. 94, 11.

itopítsisòð *then he came out of the water* nbt. 190, 29.

pinápoxts n̄xtápopitsisòð̄x̣si'a *that I will come out of the water below* nbt. 88, 12.

ostóyi ikyáiaupitsisòð *he himself had a hard time to get out of the water* nbt. 197, 21.

ixtopítsasoo *he came out of the water* nbt. 210, 19.

c) with sai-, sat-:

kákopitsaipiksistsiuaie *she just pulled it ashore* nbt. 145, 21.

ákaitopitsaipuyiuā *he was standing out of the water (on the bank)* nbt. 87, 12.

máxkopitsáxpauẓ̌nisaie *that she might jump out (of the snow)* nbt. 135, 3.

itáupitsatapiksistsèiaiks *then they threw each other out (of the ashes)* nbt. 174, 26.

d) some forms cannot be analysed sufficiently:

itopítsiax̣k̄imiau *they pulled (a charcoal) from the fire* nbt. 29, 5.

nox̣ksístapopitsikanik̄sisinai *she (the crow) started for the shore with her wings spread* nbt. 151, 8.

opítsauǎχksinòka *he was seen (by the Snake Indians)*  
*(that he dived in)* nbt. 88, 14.

**ot-, aut-;** certainly cognate with *oto* *to come to*, cf.:

ki ómaχkauk autzkiakiu *and over there he went to*  
*trap* nbt. 161, 3.

1<sup>o</sup>. combined with *stuyi* *winter* with the meaning  
*to approach, to begin*:

itótstuyiu *then the winter came on* nbt. 164, 25.

áitapòtstuyis *when they had real winter* nbt. 10, 24.

ákotstuyiua *it was near winter* nbt. 94, 4.

átotstuyiù *it was winter again* nbt. 12, 5.

matómautstuyiu *in the beginning of the winter* nbt.  
 7, 31.

itsitsitsáutstuyiu *in the beginning of the winter* nbt.  
 8, 14.

2<sup>o</sup>. *near, to, close by*:

itáutàupiuaië *(the war-party) sat near by them* nbt. 17, 2.

tázmitotoχsokuyìnai *her tracks went up to him* nbt.  
 147, 16.

itsitótáuaniau *they flew to him* nbt. 124, 19.

tázmitotsòkauaië *then he slept near her* nbt. 208, 16.

itsitotátsimiuaiks *she met them* nbt. 104, 23.

itótáuanii *he flew to (where there were many elks)*  
 nbt. 100, 5.

tázmitotsipuyiuaie *he stood by (the buffalo-head)* nbt.  
 116, 12.

itótsisátsiuaie *then he went in front of her* nbt. 168, 31.

itótáuanii *they came flying home* nbt. 190, 10.

tótokèkasaie *when he was camped near* nbt. 114, 16.

tázmitotòpiuaie *he then sat by him* nbt. 136, 15.

káχkitotsâpinakumis *that you may be close by in the*  
*morning* nbt. 205, 6.

nitáutskoaxsàu *when I had driven them back to camp*  
nbt. 230, 13.

3°. ot- often occurs in regular combination with certain prefixes:

a) with a k -, scil. o t a k -, a u t a k - nearly always with the meaning *in a circle, around*:

áitotakixpìsau *when they are dancing in a circle* nbt. 141, 18.

stámutzkàtominai *then he went around it* obt. 23, 17.  
nisoóyi otótakoxsists *four times he went around* (lit. *four were his goings-around*) nbt. 152, 6.

itáutakaniau *they went round saying* nbt. 1, 18.

itsitáutzkauaniua *he flew around* nbt. 96, 26.

itótzksoyuanìn *he jumped around* obt. 64, 2.

itáutzkomaɣkau *then he would run around* nbt. 16, 3.

ixtáutaksaistoiauaie *they went through the camp crying*  
nbt. 34, 3.

áutakatsiuaiks *he began to go around them* nbt. 117, 9.

támitotautakòyinai *then he was going around* nbt. 152, 5 (independent verb).

ómɣksikimists otzkóɣtsi *around the lakes* nbt. 37, 22 (adverb).

Here belong also:

itótzkaupiaie *he sat by him* obt. 18, 15.

mátsitotakaupìnai *he sat down by him again* nbt. 136, 24.

áitotakaupiu *he sat by (his partner)* obt. 59, 14.

b) with -a mi -; the meaning will appear from the examples:

itótɣmiàupiau *they were sitting on the edge (of the cliff)*  
nbt. 135, 8.

itáutamianìu *he said from where he was on high* nbt. 39, 10.

itáutamiatàii *they came up in sight in a circle* nbt. 32, 11.

ipisóaxs áutamiskapiu *the morning-star was coming up* nbt. 27, 9.

ómaxtapàutamiskapi *where (the sun) rises* obt. 51, 2.

páuažkùyi tótzmiàupiu *he sat in sight on a hill* nbt. 83, 6.

tzmótamiòpiu *then (the war-party) sat in sight (of the enemy's camp)* nbt. 79, 16.

otótamisoožsau *when they came in sight (of the place where the lodges had been)* nbt. 127, 26.

ákotamiatàiaio *we shall have a circle in sight* nbt. 18, 13.

kináutamisò *he went slowly up (to a lake)* nbt. 180, 1.

c) with -s a t-; meaning *to be near, to come near*:

áikotsatò *he is very close* obt. 40, 2.

itóttsiu *he came* nbt. 191, 6.

áutsztožkìm moyists *(the war-party) came near the camp* nbt. 18, 5.

ámom otsátāžtsim *here, close by* nbt. 156, 17 (adverb).

áutsatstsìsaiks *when they were close by* nbt. 17, 8.

einí ómāžtapautsatsìxp *where the buffalo would come the nearest* nbt. 7, 27.

**pan-** *during the night, before day-light*; often with infixed -a i-, scil. pa i a n-:

paiznnauapiksiu *he made his flight all night* nbt. 30, 26.

panáuamisòk *go before day-light on high* obt. 42, 1.

paiznnauatòiau *they travelled all night* nbt. 213, 5.

paiznnauapiksiu *they were running all the night* nbt. 146, 15.

N.B. áipznnixtsìi *they laid (the bullberries) over night (they kept them through winter)* nbt. 10, 23.

**paχt(s)-, paχk-.** As for the different meanings is to be compared 2<sup>o</sup>. ksist(a p) -.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an element of nominal forms:

paχtsópisðaxs *False-morning-star* obt. 54, 29.

paχkå'χkeyi *Bad-water (a lake)* nbt. 3, 1.

paχtsíkakχχtànai *false-roots* nbt. 10, 11.

paχtsíksistsikùmi *false-thunder* nbt. 210, 6.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *wrong, bad*;

omá paχkå'χsinikai *a bad death to her* nbt. 103, 6.

kikáipχχtsàn *you said wrong* obt. 54, 27.

kénnyaie mátanistsipχχtsàpsiu *and that was another mistake he made* nbt. 170, 35.

mátsitsipχχtsistotðχsiu *he had made again a mistake for himself* nbt. 183, 17.

nitsípχχtsoχtòχpinan *we put (one bone) wrong* obt. 27, 8.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a prefix *by accident* (the independent adverb is páχtsa pi):

paχtsísaisksinisàie *if he happened to forget* nbt. 35, 23.

paχtuyiuaie *he shot him by accident.*

4<sup>o</sup>. combined with other prefixes:

a) with -ik, *not much, a little, for a while*:

paχtsikápatòχtsikàukin *he was just a little behind her* obt. 19, 18.

páχtsikåχkokinisàu *all of them got off their horses for a while* nbt. 30, 30.

páχtsikåχkòmχχkò *it was a little bigger* nbt. 143, 23.

páχtsikaminakatsiau *by little and little they rolled it eastward* nbt. 156, 23.

páχtsikåχkakiskìminai *she just touched it* nbt. 151, 8.

paχtsikápatåχtsikàukinai *he was right behind him* nbt. 82, 1.

ómamauk páχtsikaitapiu *there he is hardly living.*

b) with (m)ist- it means: *aside*, cf. mistap- (sub 2):

omí mistsísi itsitsípaxksistspìniuaiks *he hit them with that stick alongside of their necks* nbt. 181, 18.

ponoká'mitaiks páxksistsepuyiau *the horses are standing aside*.

**pi(o)-** *far (away)*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb:

piíxtsis einúa *when the buffalo-herd was far* nbt. 1, 15.

akáipixtsìi *they were far already* nbt. 110, 3.

mátsipìòats *he did not go far* nbt. 83, 2.

axkáipiuðiau *they must be far away* nbt. 108, 7.

aipstíksipiuðs *when she had gone a little way* nbt. 109, 17.

maxsípixtsis *that he might get far away* nbt. 30, 28.

ki áipiuð *and he went far away* nbt. 83, 18.

mátsiksipìòats *it was not far* nbt. 74, 5.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

kxnistsíppiotòmipuyìu *she was standing far ahead* nbt. 82, 18.

taistámitapipìnapo *I then go long ways down* nbt. 235, 30.

aipístosisì *when (the people) have moved far* nbt. 131, 9.

nató'siua áipispskapìu *the sun was rising high* nbt. 31, 1.

pyómaxkau *he went far* nbt. 4, 12.

támanistsìppiautomò *then he was far ahead of the others* nbt. 81, 16.

N.B. aipíxtsisoiau *they came later than others* nbt. 72, 12.

The independent adverb is: pioóxt.



**pin-**; negative prefix of the 2 and 3 prs. imperative, often replaced by **min-**:

*pinsámis don't look at him* obt. 23, 12.

*annám ksikunístauzm pinápanàs (take care) that that white buffalo-calf may have no blood on it* obt. 32, 25.

*minstúnnit don't be afraid of (arrows)* nbt. 55, 10.

**(p)inap-** *down, down-stream, east(ward)*; cf. *a mi-* *up (the river)* the fundamental meaning of which occurs much more frequently than that of *pinap-* (*down*).

Properly it is only once noted:

*kyotsítsinäpotokai (= ki-ots-its-inap-otokaie) and he was let down by him* de J. de J. bt. 60, 21.

1<sup>0</sup>. *down-stream*:

*tákáxpitsinàpistai I will dive down-stream with him* nbt. 88, 10.

*ixtsínapapauàuaχkàixk he was walking about down the river* obt. 63, 12.

*áistámitsinapapaukunàiiu there (the people) would be camped about down on the river* nbt. 7, 26.

*ixtsínapautsimma he is swimming along down the river* de J. de J. bt. 6, 22.

*nitáksikaupinikipainapistai I shall feign to dive down-stream with him* nbt. 79, 27.

*nisótámatksinapoχpinan then we went down (afoot)* nbt. 229, 34.

The independent adverb:

*pinápoχts below (= down-stream)* nbt. 88, 12.

*piínapoχts far down (the river)* nbt. 210, 19.

2<sup>0</sup>. *east(ward)*, scil. *down-stream the rivers east of the Rocky Mountains*; e. g.:

*Pinápitsaikatoyis Eastern Sweetgrass hills* nbt. 214, 16.

ánnamaie ítomaipinapo *he was the first that went east*  
nbt. 218, 2.

Adverb: pinápuxtsk *eastward* de J. de J. bt. 43, 4  
(Uhlenbeck, Philol. Notes p. 27: „the proper meaning  
of pinápoχtsi is „down the river”. Nevertheless  
Dr. de Jong is right in translating pinápuxtsk =  
pinápoχts-k by „eastward”. The prefixed form of  
pinápoχtsi is pinap-, but after another prefix  
the initial p is lost”).

N.B. itâχkánainâipsaipi *they all charged down the river*  
nbt. 80, 22.

**pok-** *right after, with.*

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb:

itoχpókuaie *he followed her* obt. 61, 18.

stámoχpokòmiaie *then he went together with him* nbt.  
96, 8.

âχkunoxpokisòp *let us be together* nbt. 123, 14.

N.B. otoχpóksimiks *his companions* nbt. 83, 22; nbt.  
21, 25.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a modifying prefix; the forms pak- and  
poki- are also met with:

ki itoχpókistsoaie *and she entered the forest after her*  
nbt. 102, 11.

itâ'χpokyapauauatutsiu *then (the people) moved about that*  
*way (where the buffalo were many)* nbt. 15, 3.

tsánistapi kitákoχpakitopixpa *what is it you will ride*  
*with* obt. 1, n<sup>0</sup>. 3.

áitoχpokiapâipuyit *you must repeat right after him* obt.  
39, 32.

matoχpókèpuyit *talk back to him* obt. 40, 4.

ixpókiauâuâχkâiinai *then he walked after him* nbt. 80, 8.

âkoχpokotsisimau *we shall smoke with (her)* obt. 27, 24.

itoχpók sokaminaie *then he slept with her.*

istuyí máχkoχpokàupimaχs *that he should stay with him during the winter* nbt. 76, 14.

ánniaie tákoχpokαχkaìmmau *with him I will go home* nbt. 78, 3.

áχkitoχpoksistapausi'a *so that I might go away with you.*

**pot-** *in the direction of, towards, together:*

sotázmiamipotàupiu *then (the war-party) just sat there facing the other party* nbt. 79, 21.

anitsipótapoχkistau *he would always lay one of them pointing to (the moon)* nbt. 77, 25.

itáipotoχtomiauaists *they put them together* nbt. 35, 8.

imakóχksipotàuotsìnikaiks *even if they were shooting back at him* nbt. 56, 14.

Sóàtsixpotamiso *Came-up-over-the-hill-with-the-eagle-tail-feathers* (name of a man).

itsipótanistsiuaiie *he said back to him* obt. 39, 35.

**pum-** *good, strong:*

áksipummòaiiau *they would be initiated* nbt. 43, 4.

mátsipummàpi *it is not good* nbt. 76, 12.

matsipúmapiu *it is not good* nbt. 210, 8.

katáipumotàsiua *those that had not good horses* nbt. 13, 18.

**puχs-** *hither.* Perhaps we may see in this prefix a combination of an element p- (cf. Fox pyä *hither*) with the prefix uχs- *back*. Often puχs- is combined with -(t)ap-. Examples:

áístzmipuχsapìstutsiu *then (the tribe) would move this way* nbt. 5, 23.

tázmatsipuχsaput *then come here again* nbt. 77, 7.

itapáipuxsapistutsiu *then (the tribe) was moving this way* nbt. 14, 29.

kénni nisótzmipuxsapaiaχsaupixpinan *and then we lived together allright till now* nbt. 222, 13.

nitsipúχsotasəm *I come here to see you* obt. 15, 4.

mátsipuxsapakauð ksistsikuists *a few days later* nbt. 212, 31 (N.B. in the past, ergo: *nearer to the speaker*).

ixkanáipuxsəpsaksiau *they all came out to me* nbt. 216, 24.

1<sup>o</sup>. **sai-** *out*. Other forms are: sχ - (cf. ai-) before s, sɛ- also before s; s-. E.g.:

pinsśszmis *don't look out at him* obt. 23, 10.

itsésapiau *they looked out* obt. 13, 18.

áitāsakutsiu *it boiled over* nbt. 25, 28.

itsśskapatsiuàie *he pulled him out* nbt. 117, 13.

ixtsśszmiauaie aχkənnixkàie *they looked out at him through a hole in the lodge* nbt. 116, 10.

pinətsɛsɛpīt; matsəpèniki *don't look out; if you look out again* nbt. 132, 12.

otáuakanaisàumaχkàni *when all of them ran out* obt. 11, 19.

nítsautòkiaiu *they pulled me out* nbt. 119, 28.

ákstəmsautoyiu otoə́n *then he would take out his knife* nbt. 29, 25.

sáχpàipit *jump out!* nbt. 154, 11.

itáisaikimiskàiaiu *then (the water-bags) leaked* nbt. 46, 11.

saiínikiu *he killed (one) out (of the enemies)* nbt. 89, 26.

N.B. itsəstəχkapiu *he crawled out from the lodge* nbt.

108, 21; cf. sáiistəχkapìn *one crawled out* obt. 45, 21.

The independent adverb is to be found in:

amói saə'χtai *the people on the outside* nbt. 138, 20.

saə'χtsim *outside* nbt. 121, 2.

The prefix **sai-** has only one meaning, scil. *out*.

Some remarkable cases however are to be mentioned:

1<sup>0</sup>. doubling of *sai*-:

*ki itá'χkinaisaisaipiàu and then all the people ran out on a charge to them* nbt. 32, 14.

2<sup>0</sup>. Several forms wherein *sai*- seems to function as an independent verb, only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

*itáumatapsaixpiu then (the people) made a rush out* nbt. 18, 14.

*kaχkitsáipiauaii that you take them out* obt. 45, 25.

2<sup>0</sup>. *sai*-, see *sa u*-.

**sak-** *out*; perhaps = *sai*- + *a k*-.

At all events *sai*- and *sak*- are related to each other.

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb with the suffix *-s-*.

*stámsaksiua he then went out* nbt. 99, 5.

*otsáksai that he went out* nbt. 85, 26.

*itoχkánaiszksii'a then they all went out* nbt. 86, 1.

*akitsísaisaksiu then he will go out* nbt. 59, 11.

*sepísaksisì when he goes out in the night* nbt. 59, 4.

*sàksíst go out!* nbt. 76, 26.

*ánnisaksíst come out!* nbt. 104, 17.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

*áisakayayìu they ran out fast* nbt. 20, 11.

*omáχkanistapsakapomàχkaniaiìi that one of them might run out on the prairie* nbt. 17, 2.

*áisaksistutsop then we had moved away (from the river)* nbt. 6, 24.

a) Besides *sak*- also a form *sok*- occurs:

*áisokxtanitsiuaie each time he would cut out a piece of it* nbt. 190, 25.

itomátapsokoχsayiù *it boiled over* nbt. 155, 20.

b) Frequently sak - is connected with (t)ap - :  
 ansákapuχs noχkóa *let my son come out* obt. 53, 5.  
 mátsitsksakapo *she came back out of the forest* nbt.  
 102, 13.

támsákapò *then he went out on the prairie* nbt. 77, 1.

sákapòt *go out on the prairie!* nbt. 76, 26.

sákapùs *when she came out* nbt. 101, 26.

**sat-** *out*; cf. sai- and sak -.

itsátapiksimaie *then he pulled it out* nbt. 80, 12.

ixtáisatsikataiau *with them they cut their backs open*  
 nbt. 1, 27.

áistzmsatapiksixp ótokoàuaists *then (the people) would*  
*throw out their kidneys* nbt. 1, 29.

The adverb: satóχtai *(the people) on the other side of*  
*the mountains* nbt. 113, 22.

**saki-** *still* :

sákiaùpii *they still sat there* obt. 43, 20.

sákiaitapii *they were still alive* obt. 46, 10.

mátsakiaistuyiù *it is cold no more.*

sakiáupisi *when he was still at home* nbt. 3, 40.

sákiaiokau *he is still sleeping* obt. 31, 33.

sákiauàuaχkau *(the war-party) was still travelling* nbt.  
 28, 9.

sákiitautstsiu ápssii *the arrow is still there* nbt. 199, 24.

otsákiaiokani *while he was asleep* nbt. 74, 12.

sákiautsisiaiu *they were still smoking* obt. 18, 12.

**sako-** *last*.

1°. as an element of nominal forms:

Sakóàke *Last-woman* (name given to Mrs. Uhlenbeck).

sakóapòtsists *the last pieces* obt. 8, 2.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a modifying prefix :

sákoipim *he came in the last* nbt. 125, 2.

nítzχtsakoàumaxkau (*that*) *was the last one running*  
obt. 16, 11.

sákoapâχkumi *Last-howls-about* (name of a Blood  
Indian man).

The independent adverb :

sakóâχtsim otáuaksini *later on his corralling* (i. e. *now*  
*comes the story of his corralling*) nbt. 162, 17.

Cf. sakóoχtsists *the latter* (pieces) obt. 8, 6.

**sxm-** *a long time.*

1<sup>0</sup>. often as an independent verb, i. e. only followed  
by verbalizing suffixes :

ákaiszmo *it is a long time* obt. 26, 23; etc.

2<sup>0</sup>. as a verbal prefix :

kitáksiszmmainoki *you will see me a long time* obt. 67,  
n<sup>0</sup>. 8.

áiszmikòko *it was late in the night* nbt. 199, 8.

áiszmòtsislaui *they had smoked a long time* obt. 27, 27.

áiszmipzskâu (*the buffalo*) *danced a long time* obt. 21, 11.

áiszmitàupiu *he would sit a long time* obt. 19, 30.

áiszmotonâiuaie *a long time she was looking for lice on*  
*his head* obt. 15, 13.

itáiszmaukunâiiau *they camped a long time* nbt. 4, 4.

manistápiszmistuyixp *as it was far in the winter* nbt.  
13, 9.

Very often it is combined with aip(i)stsik- *a*  
*little*; e. g. : aipstsisksismòs *after a short while* nbt. 29, 16.

1<sup>0</sup>. **sap-** *into; in the tracks; following; like.*

1<sup>0</sup>. as an independent verb :

ânnixkaie áutsapò *he followed it (the trail)* nbt. 143, 11.

moxsokúyi tsapók *follow my trail!* nbt. 193, 19.  
 sotámoxtsapòiau *they followed it (the trail)* nbt. 127, 30.  
 támoxtsapòae *then he followed him* nbt. 153, 9.  
 itsápau áinakasi *he got into the waggon.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a modifying prefix:

a) *in(to) (the fire, the boat, a pot, etc.):*

támitsapàxkim *he put it in the pot* nbt. 25, 25.  
 níkáitaisapìnitau *I have killed him in there* nbt. 195, 14.  
 matsksápèpumzki *back-in, spring-bird!* nbt. 195, 25.  
 stáisapiksikàiit *step in it! (one of my steps)* nbt. 75, 11.  
 oxókisi itsítsápstaixp *she drove it into her ear* nbt. 149, 28.

itáisapoxtomíàuaists *they put them in* nbt. 6, 17.

itsítapuxpaipiuaie *he jumped in into it* obt. 46, 7.

àxkéyi itsísapasoyìnai *he poured water (on the hide)*  
 nbt. 25, 21.

sotámsapotoksiniuaie *she stuck her hands in near (her elder sister's) kidneys* nbt. 104, 2.

stámitsapòpiuaie *then he sat down in (the boat)* de J.  
 de J. bt. 66/67.

b) *on the trail; after; following:*

tsítsxpòmàxkàt *then follow up* nbt. 131, 10.

moxsokúyik áutsapòmàxkau *he was going back on the trail* nbt. 199, 14.

támoxtsapàpauauaxkàiinai *walking about, he then followed (the road)* nbt. 143, 4.

ixtāxkánaisapùkskàsiu *all the people followed (that way) running* obt. 11, 18.

ixtsítsipsxpomàxkau *she followed* nbt. 110, 4.

mátóxtsitaisapokskàsini *then she would run after them*  
 nbt. 146, 18.

c) *(to follow) to act like a person, only taken down with the verb -inausiu to dress:*



nistói nitotúisapinausiu *she dressed like me* nbt. 75, 25.

onã'χkitotuisapinãus *whom she dressed like* nbt. 73, 29.

itáitotúisapinãusiau *they dressed like* nbt. 72, 2.

2<sup>0</sup>. **sap-** *on each side; complete; right.*

1<sup>0</sup>. One example of that meaning which seems to be the fundamental one:

nistói sapanísì *let (buffalo) fall down on each side of me* nbt. 184, 8; cf.: ki einí omí áitsistotanisiinai *and buffalo fell down on each side of him* nbt. 184, 9 (m i s t - 2<sup>0</sup> + (m) o t - ?).

2<sup>0</sup>. *completely:*

sáisapẏnnistsíks *they did not do it completely* nbt. 174, 13.

áisapẏnistsoiaists *the nights were complete = this was the last night* nbt. 174, 13.

ki sápanistsau *and (now) it is completed = the story is at an end* obt. 60, 18.

aisapẏnnistsèpiksis *if he has completed his strikes* nbt. 242, 32.

sapistútoaxk *if he was satisfied* nbt. 55, 20.

aisapẏnnistsosàists *when (the dances) were completed* nbt. 46, 7.

ánnauk sapanístsim *there he (i. e. his body) was completed* nbt. 143, 26.

áisapanístsiaie *he had completed it* nbt. 183, 16.

áisapẏnnistsimi natósiks *all the moons were in* nbt. 77, 27.

ki áisapẏnistsoyi otsínixksoaists *and (when) their four songs were finished* nbt. 232, 7.

ákoχtsapanistsotokāniiu *she will complete her scalp-robe with (our scalps)* nbt. 109, 4.

3<sup>o</sup>. *right*:

mátaisapistutsì matsaie *she could not fix it (the lodge)*  
nbt. 138, 8.

sapznìstsìtsinàiniki *if you catch him right* nbt. 141, 3.

**sau-**, **sai-** *not*. Besides **mat(s)-**, **stai-**, **kztai-**, in certain cases **sai-** (**sau-**) is used as a negative prefix:

1<sup>o</sup>. always in the subjunctive:

saiókainiki *if you don't sleep* obt. 21/22.

aisauáuotòieniki *if I do not come (back)* obt. 19, 25.

saiitáiapiniki *if you do not see anything* nbt. 26, 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. in conjunctive forms, except when these are preceded by a **χk-** which is always followed in the negative by **-stai-** (**-stau-**):

saiépixtsis *when they were not far* nbt. 1, 20.

pχtsísaisksinísàie *if he happened to forget* nbt. 35, 23.

sauumáipuausi *before (the people) got up* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

aisauátsinakùs *when it is seen no more* obt. 50, 17.

otáisauòtox *when she did not come* obt. 14, 21.

otsauásaks *when she would not come out* obt. 24, 20.

3<sup>o</sup>. in the negative irrealis of the main clause; see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 47—48; *Conjunctief-achtige Modi* p. 25—27.

4<sup>o</sup>. in the negative imperative 1 prs. pl. incl. after a **χkun-**, and in the forms of this mood which properly belong to the conjunctive system; see: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 42—44.

5<sup>o</sup>. in some indicative forms after certain modifying prefixes:

kímauksàuoχtauisks *why don't you eat (from these bark, etc.)* obt. 7, 3.

kimáuksauχkàipzskaxks *why don't you go and dance*  
nbt. 73, 4.

máuksaietapiskoiau *why are there no people about them*  
nbt. 104, 25.

itsáuatstunnoyiàuaiks *then they were not afraid of*  
*them any more* nbt. 72, 20.

stámsauatâχkèuasiu (*and this lake*) *was then no water*  
*any more* obt. 49, 18.

itsáuataχsiau *they* (inan.) *were not good* nbt. 13, 11.

itsáitapiu *he became not a person = he became sick*  
obt. 61, 28.

aitsáitapisoχkðaiiau *no one went ahead of them* nbt.  
4, 2.

stxmátamaiiksaiitsimau *then she denied it hard* nbt.  
150, 7.

kitáutxmsauatàksino *I nearly do not see you any more*  
obt. 29, 8.

áistxmsoksaitoχkonoyiuaie *he would not find her* nbt.  
96, 20.

itsáuχskaksaiiua (*the smoke*) *will never clear out.*

annóχk nímoχtsaunakiotoχpi *now, why I did not come*  
*soon* nbt. 172, 3.

áikaitsauapotoyü (*the people*) *would not turn them loose*  
nbt. 15, 8.

ákaisauainakuyi *they* (inan.) *have disappeared* (lit. *they*  
*already not have been seen*) nbt. 127, 15.

**sauk-**, see **sok-**.

**sekun-** *continually*. Properly never met with but com-  
bined with -(m)at- *again* + -ak- *in the future* or  
with -ak- *alone*. Examples:

sekunátàkanü *he kept on saying* nbt. 196, 14.

otsékunaksekak *he went on kicking him* obt. 22, 12.  
 sekunákoχkumsoyiau *they kept on squealing* nbt. 175, 13.  
 sekunátakoχkumlnai (*his anus*) *kept on making noise*  
 nbt. 175, 24.  
 sekunákstatsiauaie *they continually wanted to stop it*  
 obt. 27, 14.

**sepi-, sipi-** *in the night.*

1°. as an element of nominal forms:

sépisto *owl* (pistó *night-hawk*).

2°. in personal names:

sépisisoiake *Cuts-in-the-night-woman*.

sépinamaxka *Takes-gun-at-night* (name of a man).

sépioto *Comes-in-the-night* (name of a man).

sépainixki *Sings-in-the-night* (name of a Blood Indian man).

sepísepistá'χkumi *Owl-yells-in-the-night* (idem).

sepiómotstake *Night-massacre-woman* (Blood).

3°. as a verbal prefix:

itsípiotoisimlu *he went in the night to get a drink* nbt. 199, 10.

áisepiomatdiau *they started during the night* nbt. 23, 1.

amátsepitòtot *try to get (down on the other side) during the night* obt. 52, 13.

kokúyi . . . sépiapainixkiudiau *in the night they were going about singing* nbt. 203, 10.

annóχk kokús áksepiâuauaχkaup *this night we shall travel on during the night* nbt. 27, 1.

**sik-** *to stop; done.*

1°. as an independent verb:

áisikò *he stopped running* nbt. 189, 22.

2°. as a modifying prefix:

áisɜmo itsíksopu *after a long while the wind stopped blowing* nbt. 177, 1.

Cf. sikatóiksistsikùì *Monday* (lit. *holy-day-past*).

**sikχks-** *separate(ly)*; cf. ksik-sk- (2<sup>o</sup>) *on one side*:

áisikχksauyiau *they ate by themselves* obt. 3, 15.

**simi-** *secretly, on the sly*:

otsisimyánik *he was secretly told by him* obt. 21, 9.

sotámisimioχkotsiu *he just gave secretly (the dog to his father)* obt. 11, 8.

itsiksíminixkatau *he was secretly called* obt. 65, 10.

támítaiisimiksisatslua *she was secretly jealous of her* nbt. 149, 17.

**sini-**

siniksistsauyíks *Eat-before-others* obt. 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

**sisapok-** *through*:

stámsisapòksistχkapiu *he then crawled through the hole* nbt. 194, 32.

ixtápsisχpoksaitxsiua *(his leg) went clear through* nbt. 97, 15.

otáisisχpokoxpìsi *that (his food) fell through* nbt. 152, 29.

sesipúkaukskauaie *(the pole) came out elsewhere* de J. de J. bt. 28, 10 (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Philol. Notes* p. 18).

stámoχsisapòksχksoàiea (= stámoχsisapòksχksiaie'a) *he passed through out* de J. de J. bt. 28, 11.

**sk-** *back*.

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i. e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itomátapsko *then they started back* nbt. 82, 17.

axkitskóyi *that he must come back* nbt. 99, 12.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix :

matsítskamistutsopa *we moved back (towards the prairie)*  
nbt. 5, 29.

stámitskitau *then he was left there* obt. 9, 10.

itsksipím *she came back into the lodge* obt. 38, 3.

tákskitoto *I shall come back here* nbt. 88, 9.

iskaχkósii *they stretched their hands back (i. e. : they went back to help)* nbt. 24, 9.

itáskomaxkáiau *then they ran back* nbt. 16, 19.

matsksápèpumáki *back-in, spring-bird!* nbt. 195, 25.

itáskauaniu *the he would fly back* nbt. 96, 16.

nimátakatskitapòχp *I shall not go back* obt. 12, 8.

ómàpists matsítsksapokekaχs *let them come back and camp again in their old camp-grounds* nbt. 133, 17.

**soat-** cf. sui-, so-.

Once noted :

nitsitsoátáχpinan *we crossed it (scil. a creek)* nbt. 219, 8.

**sokap-** *good, fine, well.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb :

sokápsiu (an.), sokápiu (inan.) *is good, is fine.*

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix *well* :

sokápiitaxsaie *that he may skin it well* obt. 32, 10.

áksokapsàtsim *(the people) would carefully look* nbt. 7, 29.

áipstsokapistutsixp *it was fixed up inside* nbt. 53, 28.

**sok-, sauk-** *straight; suddenly; aloud.*

a) The original meaning is perhaps to be found in :

itsáukokskásiu *she ran straight on* nbt. 104, 14.

b) *suddenly*:

sóksinì *he suddenly saw* nbt. 75, 20.

támsokitotòyin *then suddenly (one) came to him* nbt. 74, 12.

támsokátoχtoyiu *he then suddenly heard him* obt. 25, 1.

itámsokomatápiksisàu *then (the buffalo) suddenly started to run* obt. 32, 16.

itámsòkâχtsaksiau *then they suddenly came out (of the lake)* obt. 9, 23.

itámsoksinim *then (the people) suddenly saw* obt. 5, 7.

itámsoksinoyiu *then he suddenly saw him* nbt. 77, 1.

áistzmsoksaitoχkonoyiaie *and he would suddenly not find her* nbt. 96, 20.

áisokztsàksiu *she would go out ever and again* nbt. 138, 9.

anná támsokixtsisò *there was one that came forward* nbt. 73, 16.

einí itámsokitspiàupiiau *they suddenly sat among the buffalo* obt. 14, 20.

itámsoksinislin *then he suddenly fell* obt. 30, 31.

támsokoχtsimiu *then she suddenly heard* obt. 23, 14.

otáutzmsòksinokòaiiau *they were suddenly seen by them* obt 3, n<sup>o</sup>. 10.

c) *aloud*; specially with the verb a n i - *to say*:

áisokaniu *he would say* nbt. 8, 1.

áisokanistsiu *he always said to him* obt. 34, 18.

áisokanistsiuaie *he always said to him* obt. 22, 10.

áisokanì *they would say* nbt. 3, 42.

áisokaníau *they would say* nbt. 35, 20.

áistzmsokaníau *then they would say* nbt. 3, 4.

áisokætanistsiuaie *he ever and again said to her* obt. 19, 13.

N.B. itsá'χkàuasainiu *he then wept aloud*.

kimáumaisoʒkanisks *why do you say (that) aloud?*  
obt. 41, 31.

**sotəm-, stəm-;** see: Uhlenbeck, *Conjunctief-achtige Modi van het Blackfoot* p. 3—4.

1<sup>o</sup>. *after a little while; just*; cf. a ut ə m -, which is also found with imperative forms:

sotəmitaupit *just stay* obt. 48, 23.

ókì sotəmipt *now, come right in!* nbt. 75, 17.

sotəmauyit *just eat!* obt. 39, 28.

sotəmikakòsit *just take it* obt. 41, 3.

tákstəmiksisstapanistapu *I shall go to an unknown place*  
nbt. 73, 41.

2<sup>o</sup>. *then*. [Uhlenbeck l. c. says: „althans wanneer men het verloop beschrijft van regelmatig terugkeerende gebeurtenissen.” E. g.:

àutakúsi táistəmoxtò... nitáistəmoxpoxtàua *in the afternoon I am going (I take my traps and a cow-head) I carry them along* nbt. 236, 1—3.

Cf. the description of base-ball: nbt. 242.

3<sup>o</sup>. *then (in the past)*, especially frequent in narratives told by youthful, unskilled raconteurs:

nisótəmoxtsinapò, nisótəmoxtsoau ăxké; nisótəmitoto nokúnan; nisótəmapəszəmau ponokă'mitaiks *I then went down, I then went through the water; I then went to our ranch; I then was looking for the horses* nbt. 243, 11 sqq.; also nbt. 227; nbt. 225 (all boys' experiences told by themselves).

sotəmotapòtsiu *then he came home with the meat* nbt. 2, 9.

áistəmamotapìpiaii itapòtsopiks *then the horses that had meat on them would be taken all over (the camp)* nbt. 8, 36.



sotázmokòsimiuaie *then he had him for a child* nbt. 33, 11.

stáminisau(o) *then she got off* obt. 5, 17.

áistzmaniau *then they would say* nbt. 1, 14.

stámaukàsiu *then he picked up* obt. 8, 31.

stámitskitau *then he was left* obt. 9, 10.

stámitoto *then he came* nbt. 79, 6.

osótámoχkokaie *he was then given to him by* nbt. 76, 13.

sotázmsùyistùtsiu *he then moved on (on the ice)* obt. 5, 10.

4<sup>o</sup>. *presently, just now*:

nisótámt, aχkspumáuos *I think just now, that we should go up.*

kimáuksotámauanisks *why do you say that just now?*

Cf. sotáminoyiau *they suddenly saw* obt. 10, 25.

**sp-** *high, above, up.*

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, specially as a predicative adjective:

spítau *is high, is tall* (of persons).

spímiu *is high* (of animals).

spiksím (an.), spiksíu (inan.) *is high* (of trees).

spíu *is high* (of things that are considered as inanimate). Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

itáspskunakatsiua *then he shot up at it* nbt. 161, 24.

támispiuàuaχkau *then he went in deeper* nbt. 80, 8;

cf. lat. mare altum.

itspániu *he said upwards* obt. 56, 28.

itspápiu *he looked up* obt. 16, 17.

manístspàsps *when he looked up* obt. 65, 3.

támitspiniuaie *then he lifted him up* nbt. 153, 12.

N.B. nitsístsispi *I have head-ache.*

Adverbial forms are:

- spóχts(i) *on high* obt. 57, 13.  
 spóχtχk *above* obt. 66, n<sup>o</sup>. 3.  
 spóχtsim *on high* obt. 68, n<sup>o</sup>. 9.  
 spóχtm *on high* obt. 67, n<sup>o</sup>. 7.

**st(aχt)-** *under* (especially: *under the water*):

Perhaps we have the kernel of this prefix in the verb-stem for „to dive”; e. g.:

itsúistaiiu *he dived in (the water)* obt. 64, 12.

itsístaiiu *he dived under the water* nbt. 79, 33.

Otherwise these forms may be compounds with *ist-in*. Probably also the following forms contain an element akin to *staχt-*:

stámatsistaxkapiĩnai *he crawled in again* nbt. 108, 5.

itsázstaxkapiu *he crawled out from the lodge*.

áístxχkàpiu *the sun went down* nbt. 27, 4.

áístxχkapiàiks *they crawled in* nbt. 195, 16.

stámisisapòksistaxkapiu *he then crawled through the hole* nbt. 194, 32.

itsístxχkapiu *he crept in among it* nbt. 107, 28.

Examples:

istáχtsikokùto *it (the creek) was frozen under (the surface)* nbt. 219, 8.

âχké itxstáχtaupi *he stays under water* obt. 10, 15.

itáztapiniuaie *she pulled (the crow's) head under the water* nbt. 151, 19.

The adverbial form in:

istáχtsim âχké *under the water* nbt. 93, 22.

**stan-, stai-** *not*. It seems to be a secondary form of *sau-, sai-*, e. g., after *aχk-*, produced by phonetical influences.

**sui-, so-** *in(to), close by (the water, the fire).*

1°. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itãχkálnaisoðiau *they all went in (to the water)* nbt. 23, 9.

niétãχtaii tãmisoo *then he went into the river* nbt. 79, 25.

2°. as an element of nominal forms:

annfisk suiétap̃isk *that person of the water* obt. 49, 5.

suiéstãmik *water-bull* obt. 8, 24; obt. 10, 12.

suyáiksini *Hog-in-water* (name of a woman).

3°. as a verbal prefix; frequently as the last member of combinations, e. g. -opits-is-(s)o-, -opit-so-, and -is-(s)o-; cf. opit(s)- 2a and 2b; and is- 4:

itsúiap̃autsim *she swam about in the water* nbt. 151, 2.

itsitápsuiãχp̃aippiuaie *he jumped into the water towards him* nbt. 80, 2.

óχkotokì ãkaitaisuyixtakiòp̃ *they have already a stone in the fire* nbt. 59, 22.

noχkítsuièpetòkit *you must put me into the water* obt. 12, 11.

otsúiaukskàsau *when they ran into the water* obt. 10, 23.

suiésapiu *he looked into the water* obt. 58, 24.

itsóyiãχkimaie *he paddled them (the logs which were tied together) in* obt. 57, 10.

itsúistaiiu *he dived in* obt. 64, 12.

ixp̃ítsuìotsimaie *then he swam in the water with him* nbt. 80, 17.

omátsuyisaps *when he looked in again into the water* obt. 64, 14.

itsúyãχkumi *Yells-in-the-water* (name of a man).

itsúinokâxkumi *Elk-yells-in-the-water* (name of a woman).

suyéniki *Kills-in-the-water* (name of a woman).

sotámsùistùtsiu *he then moved on (across the frozen water)* obt. 5, 10.

itáutsuistùtsuiaie *they used to move to the water* obt. 5, 4.

ánnimaie itsúitomo *there was a butte right close to the creek* nbt. 214, 17.

Adverb: potáni isoóxtsim *right near the fire* nbt. 153, 1; cf. however the adverbial form of is-: isoóxtsik *in the future* nbt. 51, 24; 44, 8; 215, 12.

tαm-, cf. a u t α m -, s (o) t α m -.

1°. *after a while, later on, with imperatives:*

támanikit *tell me later on* nbt. 73, 25.

támapsàmmokit *look for me later on* nbt. 74, 3.

2°. *after that; then:*

otámisksinòkaie *then she was known by him* nbt. 73, 29.

támitaupiu *then he stayed* nbt. 76, 24.

támitoto *then they got to* nbt. 3, 5.

támaχkàiiu *then he went home* nbt. 79, 2.

támipim *then he entered* nbt. 77, 10.

támiksistsipaskau *then (the women) had done dancing* nbt. 73, 34.

támótapaχkaiiau *then they started home* obt. 1, n°. 3.

támitapò *then he went* nbt. 77, 9.

támsàkapò *then he went out on the prairie* nbt. 77, 1.

Often tαm- is combined with s o k - (see there sub b for examples).

1°. **tap-** *to go; to(wards).*

1°. as an independent verb, e.g.: áitapo *he starts*;

cf. a u m a t a p - sub 1°.

2<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix (N.B. in most of the following examples it is not easy to make out whether we have to do with (t) a p- or with a p-):

itsitápsuiâxpàipiuaie *he jumped into the water towards* nbt. 80, 2.

itápaisumistsim *he began to lick (his arrow)* nbt. 110, 27.

ámoxk amítoxts tápipíksik *run that way higher up* nbt. 201, 7.

tápopomâxtsi *towards the other side of the river* nbt. 88, 14.

itsitápsooi *he went into the water towards him* nbt. 88, 19.

itsitápsuyistâii *then he dived into the water (towards)* nbt. 88, 13.

itápoxtatskòtsiu *(the people) then began to rush* nbt. 79, 17.

itápaisauâkstsitsikiòp *then we began to put on other moccasins* nbt. 29, 2.

tápaisiníkimatsiuaie *then (the people) began to make coups on him* nbt. 81, 2.

matsitápskomaxkàt *run back again* nbt. 187/188.

anápàutsimàt *take quickly* nbt. 146, 10.

anápaiâkòt *be prepared to go quick* nbt. 122, 15.

annápaiâkitapiit *now prepare yourself* nbt. 140, 4.

annápaiinimàt *now begin to catch (your horses)* nbt. 3, 5.

2<sup>o</sup>. **tap-**. Only once noted in an adverbial form:

ki amóksi tapóxtsik otsinánoaii *and (the stick) of those on the other side* nbt. 34, 26.

**tatsik-** *in, to the middle; between:*

áupixtátsikiotsimaie *he swam to the middle (of the river)* nbt. 80, 20.

nítstxtsikistòkioko *I am hit between the ears* nbt. 184, 13.

osáutatsiksiketan *his saddle-blanket* nbt. 36, 9.

The independent adverb is rather frequent:

tátsikaxtsim *in the centre* nbt. 181, 8.

omím ómzxksikimíu tátsikaxtsim *there in the middle of a lake* nbt. 74, 7.

uχs-, áχs- *back(wards), behind* (perhaps akin to (m)ox-soyís *tail*).

1<sup>o</sup>. as an independent verb, i.e. only followed by verbalizing suffixes:

itá'χso *they moved back (to the north)* nbt. 8, 17.

otótoχsaii *when they came back* nbt. 49, 5.

2<sup>o</sup>. in adverbial forms:

kznáuχsoχtsi *behind* nbt. 72, 6.

áχsókapòχtsi *on the back-side* nbt. 35, 4.

3<sup>o</sup>. as a verbal prefix:

a) in the combination oχso(χ)k - (cf. 2<sup>o</sup>. ak(s)-*round*):

nisótzmiksàs, nitsítóχsoko, nitáutzmixszmmau *I then hid myself, I went around him (being out of sight), I looked up at him* nbt. 216, 15.

matsítóχsoχkatokskàsimiuaie *he ran again around after him, being out of sight* nbt. 178, 10.

mátsítóχsoχkatàtsiuaie *he again went around to him, being out of sight* nbt. 179, 1.

b) combined with a p a t - *back*:

ápztóχsàiszpiu *he was looking north* nbt. 66, 19; see a p a t - sub 3<sup>o</sup>.

c) See p u χ s (a p) -.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

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- P. 2, l. 7 from beneath. Read: I had better say, (instead of: I had better, say).
- P. 3, l. 4. The full stop is to be cancelled.
- P. 11, l. 4 from beneath. Read: „secon- (instead of: „secon).
- P. 14, l. 11. Read: apxtóχtsik, (instead of: apxtóχtsik’).
- P. 14, l. 5 sq. from beneath. These lines are to be cancelled. There are many verbal forms ending in -ixk, but there we have the relative suffix -χk in its palatalized form. The forms ending in -ixp(i) and -oχp(i) are compounded with the relative suffix -pi.
- P. 36. Before **axtso-** ought to have been mentioned the nominal and verbal prefix **axs-** *good, well*, belonging to áχsi *good*. Examples:  
*kénni nisótχmipuxsapaiaχsaupixpinan and then we lived together all right till now* nbt. 222, 13.  
*áχsapistùtsitau take good care of (my partner's clothes)* nbt. 159, 11.  
*áχsauâuaksisàt run well!* obt. 14, 4.
- P. 36, l. 12. Read: **-omai-, -umai-** (instead of: **omai-, umai-**). Reference ought to have been made here to

- Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19, as to the use of this prefix in adjectives.
- P. 40, l. 23. The words „or up the prairie?” are to be cancelled.
- P. 44, two last lines. The correct translation of the form is: *there down the river (the people) would then be camped about.*
- P. 45, l. 7. Read: kímâxtapauâuaχkaxp (instead of: kímâxtapauâuaχkaup).
- P. 52, l. 11—7 from beneath. Read: ik(s)-, or iik(s)- (with „Zerdehnung”, as German philologists would say), is also found in the combinations ikskai- (from iks-ikai-), and ikskaiik(s)-. Perhaps ik(s)- is cognate with ak- *many, much*. Cf. for its use in adjectives: Uhlenbeck, *Some General Aspects* p. 19.
- P. 53, l. 20. The form ikxmípixtsîi is morphologically an indicative. It might be called a „false” conjunctive, like the indicative-forms with aχk-.
- P. 54 sq. The articles **ikit-** and **(i)kin-** ought to change places.
- P. 55, l. 6 from beneath. The comma after -ixp- is to be cancelled.
- P. 61, l. 6 from beneath. Read: as (instead of: e. g.).
- P. 62, l. 17 sq. This form does not belong here (cf. pot-).
- P. 63, l. 17. The form itsíniso belongs together with those mentioned sub in- 1<sup>o</sup> (p. 59). The opposite of in is- is am-is- (i. e. ami- + is-), e. g. áuâmiso *he is going up*, itsitápamisòyinai *she went up to them* nbt. 110, 18 (cf. p. 39, l. 20).
- P. 66. Before itxm- ought to have been mentioned the verbal prefix **itam-** *happy*, belonging to the verb itamítakiu, e. g.:



- áitàmiksistsikùì *it was a fine day* nbt. 25, 6.  
 áitâmauauaxkàiiâu *they went happy about* nbt. 25, 7.
- P. 71, l. 12 from beneath. Read: kxtáiiimiks (instead of: katáiiimiks).
- P. 73, l. 5 from beneath. Read: *he could not jump out* (instead of: *he could not get out of the water*).
- P. 75, l. 8. Read: tãtsikaiksistsikùyi (instead of: tãtsikaiksistsikùyi).
- P. 75, l. 7 from beneath. Read: *then (the people) had done dancing* (instead of: *then the people had done dancing*).
- P. 77, l. 3. Besides the example given here there are many other nominal compounds with manisk(s)-, e. g. manisksínokâmita *young horse*, mâniskomaxkstoki *young mule*, mâniskòmità *young dog*, maniskáiksini *young hog*, mâniskoxyàio *young bear*, maniskéini *young buffalo*, etc.
- P. 77, l. 13 from beneath. Add: An extended form of manist- (anist-) is manistæp- (anistæp-).
- P. 78, l. 5. tákanistòxpaχtau is a dependent interrogative form from the verbal stem anisto, and so it belongs sub 1<sup>o</sup> (p. 77).
- P. 78, l. 16. ænistápitaχiau is a verbalized nominal form.
- P. 81, l. 1. Read: berries (instead of: berrie).
- P. 81, l. 5. Read: forms: (instead of: forms).
- P. 85, l. 5. The translation ought to be: *he smoked harder instead*.
- P. 89, l. 4 from beneath. nimótsipitâkeixpinan is, of course, a verbalized nominal form.
- P. 91, l. 3. The correct translation is: *he finally ended his smoking*.
- P. 93, l. 4. Reference ought to have been made here to Uhlenbeck, Some General Aspects p. 19, as to the use of nit(s)- in adjectives.

P. 94, l. 4 from beneath. Read: (*the people*) (instead of *they*).

P. 99, l. 5. Read: combined with -s o- it has the meaning *ashore, from the fire* (instead of: combined with -s o- *ashore, from the fire*).

P. 104, l. 18. Read: *very far* (instead of: *far*).

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## ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

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obt. = C. C. Uhlenbeck, Original Blackfoot Texts. Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Amsterdam; Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XII n<sup>o</sup>. 1. 1911.

nbt. = C. C. Uhlenbeck, A New Series of Blackfoot Texts. Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Amsterdam; Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XIII n<sup>o</sup>. 1. 1912.

de J. de J. bt. = J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, Blackfoot Texts. Verhandelingen Kon. Akad. van Wetensch., Amsterdam; Afd. Letterk. N. R. Deel XIV n<sup>o</sup>. 4. 1914.

As to the numbers which are placed after these abbreviations, the first denotes the page, the second, after the comma, the line.

I have also made use of materials in manuscript collected by Dr. Uhlenbeck and by Dr. de Josselin de Jong.

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**STELLINGEN.**



## STELLINGEN.

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### I.

Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 92) ziet niet scherp, en dwaalt althans, voorzoover het Blackfoot betreft, als hij beweert: „it seems possible that we may ultimately be justified in speaking of Algonkin as truly „holophrastic” or „polysynthetic”. But if so these terms will essentially be only a convenient designation for the linguistic process which allows two verbs to consolidate into a single one.”

### II.

Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 91) dwaalt als hij zegt: „that in „incorporating” languages noun and verb can be combined to form verbs, whereas in other idioms they combine only into nouns.”

### III.

Als Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 92) beweert dat „the principles of Algonkin verb-formation are in some respects conspicuously different from those of Indo-European”, toont hij te weinig inzicht in het oudere Indogermaansch.

## IV.

In het Blackfoot komt een parasitische spirant voor, zooals Kroeber (Arapaho Dialects p. 82) die aanneemt voor het Arapaho, Cheyenne en Yurok.

## V.

Dr. W. Jones' opmerking over de „stress” (Algonquian Word-formation; Am. Anthropol. N. S. VI p. 375), waaruit blijkt, dat deze klemtoon die syllabe op den voorgrond brengt, die in de combinatie het meest de aandacht moet trekken, gaat niet op voor het Blackfoot.

## VI.

De verbale uitgang stempelt in het Blackfoot eventueel elk taalelement, hetzij dit al of niet samengesteld is, tot een verbaalvorm.

## VII.

H. Gering's vertaling van Atlakvipa 32, 4 (holkve hvilbeþjar) „beim Schlafgemach” is te verwerpen.

## VIII.

Bij de etymologie van „*sprokkelmaand*” dient men aan oud-germaansche vruchtbaarheidsgebruiken te denken. Noch de verklaring van J. Grimm (Deutsche Mythologie p. 749), noch die van Weinhold (Deutsche Monatsnamen p. 57), Bilfinger (Zeitschr. f. D. Wortf. V p. 264) en Ehrismann (P. Br. B. XX p. 64) voldoen.



## IX.

D. *durchbrennen* moet in semantisch verband gebracht worden met oostvl. *inbranden*.

## X.

De verklaring van den titel van Vondels *Geusevesper* is te zoeken in den toon en de bedoeling der Roomsch-Katholieke Vesper.

## XI.

Het taalgebruik van sommige primitieve volken en dat van moderne (realistische en impressionistische) woordkunstenaars vertoonen opmerkelijke punten van overeenkomst, die nog te weinig bestudeerd zijn.

## XII.

De door Prof. Kalff terecht gelaakte gewoonte van Huyghens (Studiën p. 364): een sneldicht met een rijm als b.v. *wonderboek* te besluiten met een vers op *onderboek*, is te verklaren uit het betrekkelijk argelooze van dien tijd, die nog niet de uit zelf-analyse geboren schaamte over een dergelijken lust tot onkiesche taal kende.

## XIII.

In Schrijnen's opmerking (Nederl. Volkskunde I p. 288) naar aanleiding van het volksrijmpje:

„Een bloem buiten den tijd  
Is een bruid of een lijk”.

„Ook hier de verwantschap van dood en huwelijk als het telkens wederkeerend refrein” moet *huwelijk* vervangen worden door *conceptie*.

#### XIV.

Ten onrechte eischt J. de Meester (de Gids, Nov. 1916 p. 373—377) sprookjesachtigheid bij de opvoering van een Indisch drama als de *Mṛcchakaṭikā*. Even onjuist is zijn qualificatie „kinderlijk” voor dit stuk.

#### XV.

Oldenberg's geringschatting voor het Hindoedrama, speciaal voor de karakters daarin (Literatur des alten Indien p. 262—275) is te eenzijdig Westersch.

#### XVI.

Rinclus vs. 460—464:

Hier vormaels brachtmen altoes  
dien wive, die haren man verloes,  
enen hoet van wilgen groene geloeft.

De dichter maakt hier gebruik van de omstandigheid, dat de wilg het symbool was van onvruchtbaarheid en kuischheid.

#### XVII.

Ten onrechte vertaalt v. d. Bosch (Zwolsche Herdrukken, Granida vs. 311):

„(het Hof) jaecht de lusten voor, u zijn se toeghe-  
[smeten,  
het w.w. *voorjaghen* door: *wegjagen*. Beter is: *najagen*.

## XVIII.

Bij de verklaring van 't ndl. *beunhaas* dient men althans te denken aan „bastardierte Lehnübersetzung” (cf. Mauthner, Die Sprache p. 58) van gr. *βάνυρος*.

## XIX.

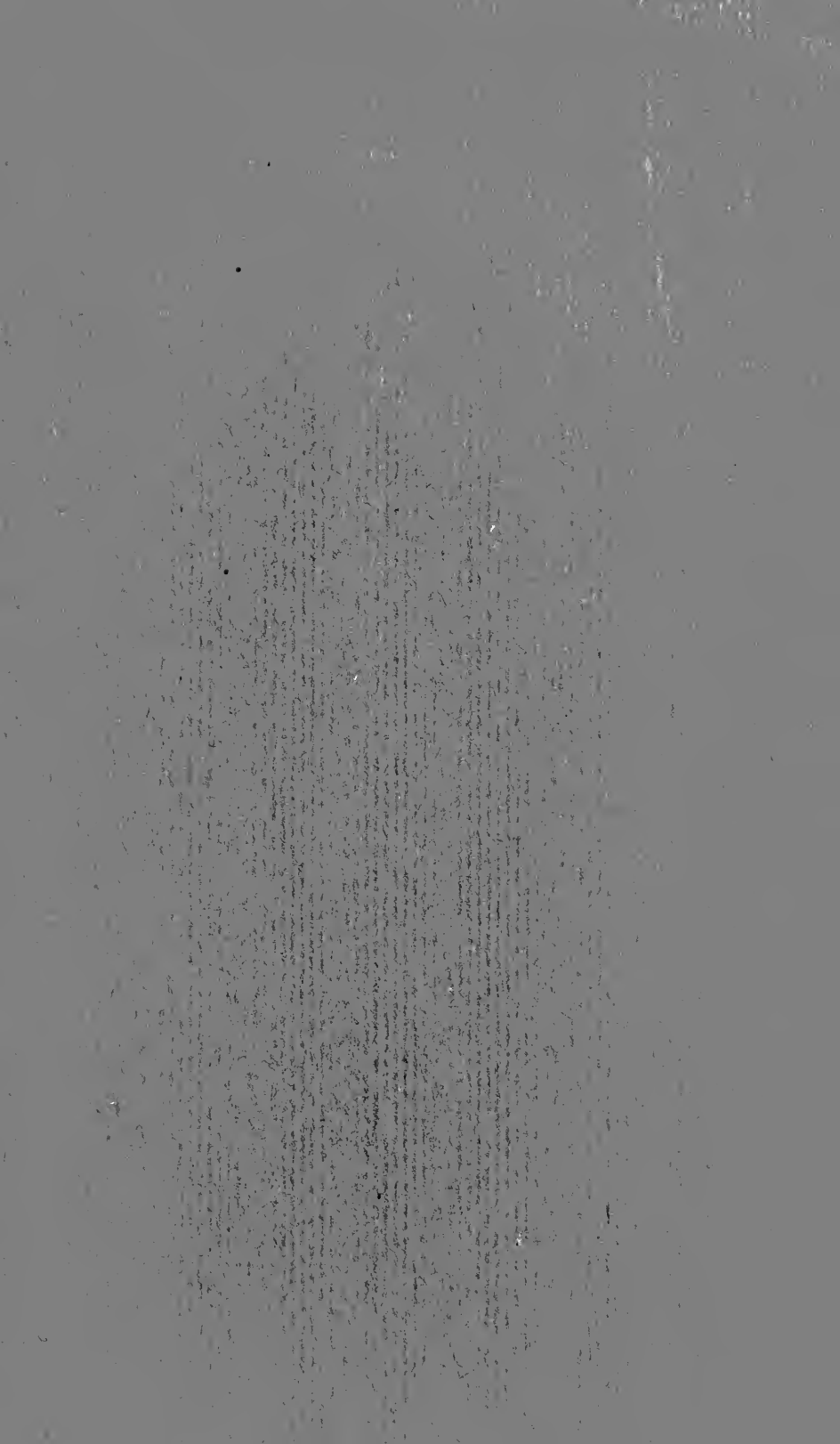
Dr. E. C. Godée Molsbergen (N. R. C. 16 Sept. 1916 Ochtend) kan niet bewijzen, dat Plaatje (Native Life in South Africa, before and since the European War and the Boer Rebellion) zijn stam- en landgenooten misleidt, als hij spreekt van de wreedheid der Boeren tegenover de oude bevolking.

## XX.

Dr. Jac. v. Ginneken in zijn brochure „Als ons moedertaalonderwijs nog ooit gezond wil worden” (p. 18) verwaarloost bij zijn overwaardeering van het „moedertaalonderwijs” vooral de paedagogische waarde van dat in de Geschiedenis.

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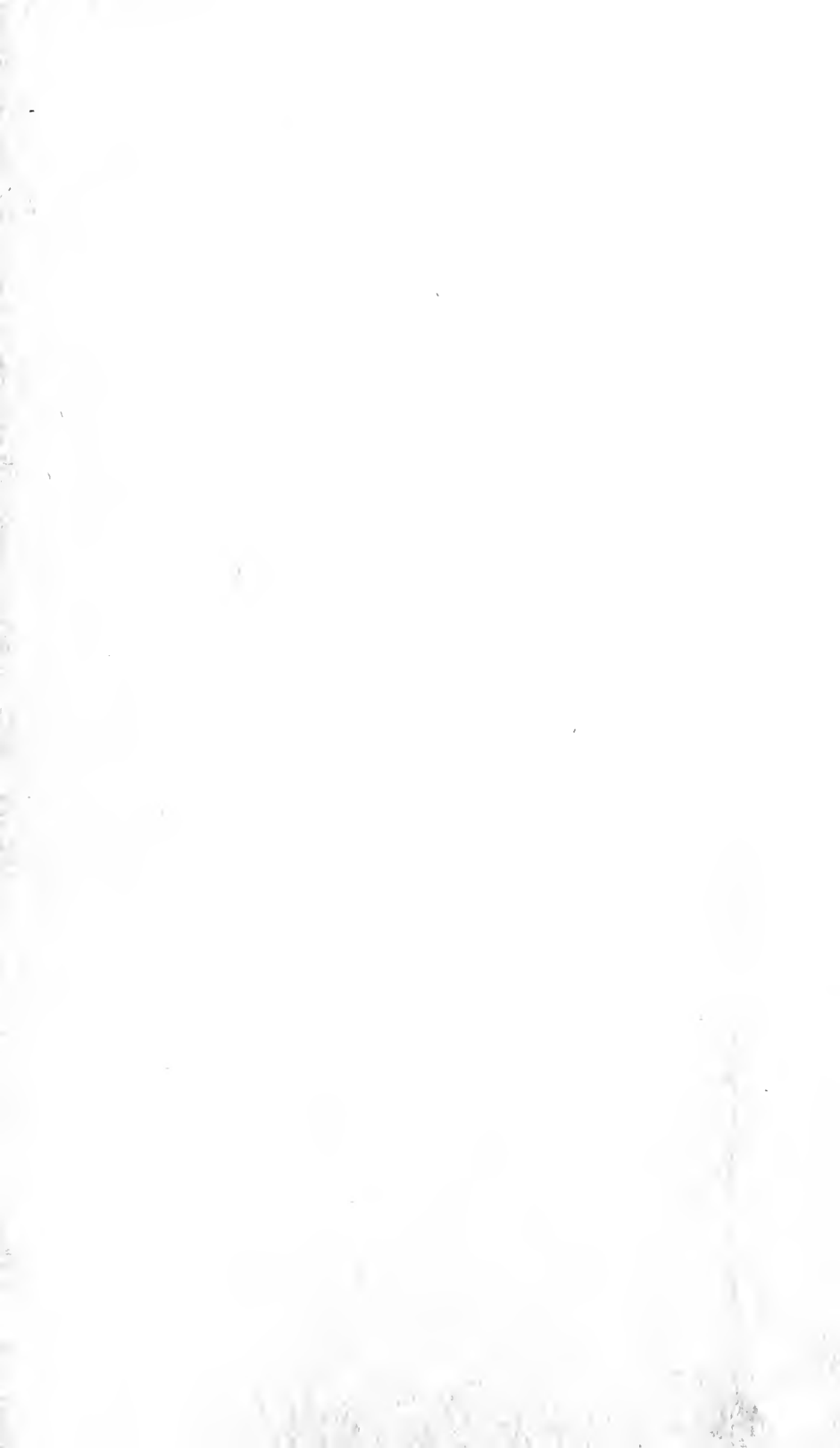












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